THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

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OF

HINDOSTAN,

FROM THE DEATH OF AKBAR,

TO THE COMPLETE SETTLEMENT OF THE EMPIRE UNDER AURUNGZEBE.

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TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

I. A DISSERTATION on the Origin and Nature of DESPOTISM in HINDOSTAN.

II. An ENQUIRY into the STATE of BENGAL; With a Plan for reſtoring that Kingdom to its former Proſperity and Splendor.

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TO THE

KING,

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MAJESTY's

MOST DUTIFUL
MOST HUMBLE
AND MOST DEVOTED
SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

ALEXANDER DOW.

V.K. Srivastava
Research Scholar
1983-85
at University of
Calcutta.

A
DISSERTATION
CONCERNING THE
ORIGIN AND NATURE OF DESPOTISM
IN
HINDOSTAN.

The climate and ſoil of India,

GOVERNMENT derives its form from accident; its ſpirit and genius from the inherent manners of the people. The languor occaſioned by the hot climate of India, inclines the native to indolence and eaſe; and he thinks the evils of deſpotiſm leſs ſevere than the labour of being free. Tranquillity is the chief object of his deſires. His happineſs conſiſts in a mere abſence of miſery; and oppreſſion muſt degenerate into a folly, which defeats its own ends before he calls it by the name of injuſtice. Theſe phlegmatic ſentiments the Indian carries into his future ſtate. He thinks it a mode of being, in which paſſion is loſt, and every faculty of the ſoul ſuſpended, except the conſciouſneſs of exiſtence.

favourable to deſpotiſm.

Other motives of paſſive obedience join iſſue with the love of eaſe. The ſun, which enervates his body, produces for him, in a manner ſpontaneouſly, the various fruits of the earth. He finds ſubſiſtence without much toil; he requires little covering but the ſhade. The chill blaſt of winter is unknown; the ſeaſons are only marked by an arbitrary number of nights and days. Property being in ſome meaſure unneceſſary, becomes of little value; and men ſubmit, without reſiſtance, to violations of right, which may hurt but cannot deſtroy them. Their religious inſtitutions incline them to peace and ſubmiſſion. The vulgar live with the auſterity of philoſophers, as well as with the abſtinence of devotees. Averſe themſelves to the commiſſion of crimes, they reſent no injuries from others; and their low diet cools their temper to a degree which paſſion cannot inflame.

Encourage conqueſt.

The fertility of the ſoil, which in other kingdoms conſtitutes the great proſperity of the natives, was a ſource of misfortune to the Indians. Notwithſtanding their abſtinence and indolence, they were in ſome degree induſtrious, and, in want of but few things themſelves, their own arts, and the natural productions of their country, rendered them opulent. Wealth accumulated, in the progreſs of time, upon their hands; and they became objects of depredation to the fierce nations of the northern Aſia. The facility of incurſion, among a peaceable and harmleſs race of men, encouraged conqueſt. The victors, inſtead of carrying the ſpoil into their native country, ſat down where it had been found; and added the miniſtration of the conquered to the other enjoyments of wealth.

Aſia always the ſeat of ſlavery.

Aſia, the ſeat of the greateſt empires, has been always the nurſe of the moſt abject ſlaves. The mountains of Perſia have not been able to ſtop the progreſs of the tide of deſpotiſm; neither has it been frozen in its courſe through the plains of the northern Tartary, by the chill air of the North. But though deſpotiſm governs Aſia, it appears in different countries under various forms. The Arabs of the deſart alone poſſeſs liberty, on account of the ſterility of their ſoil. Independent of revolution and change, they ſee, with unconcern, empires falling and riſing around. They remain unconquered by arms, by luxury, by corruption; they alter not their language, they adhere to their cuſtoms and manners, they retain their dreſs. Their whole property conſiſts of flocks and herds, of their tents and arms. They annually make a ſmall and voluntary preſent to the chief of their blood. They revolt againſt oppreſſion ; and they are free by neceſſity, which they miſtake for choice. When men are obliged to wander for ſubſiſtance, deſpotiſm knows not where to find its ſlaves.

Nature of the Tartar

The Tartar, though a wanderer like the Arab, was never equally free. A violent ariſtocracy always prevailed in the country of the former, except in a few ſhort periods, when the fortune of one eſtabliſhed a tranſient deſpotiſm over the whole. There man is armed againſt man, chief againſt chief, and tribe againſt tribe. War is no longer a particular profeſſion, but the conſtant occupation of all. Men are more afraid of men in the ſolitudes of Tartary, than of beaſts of prey. The traveller moves with great circumſpection, and hears an enemy in every blaſt of wind. When he ſees a tract in the ſand, he croſſes it, and begins to draw his ſword. Though the barrenneſs of the country has prevented the growth or introduction of luxury, avarice prevails, and he that has the leaſt to loſe is the moſt independent, where life is invariably riſqued for a trifling ſpoil. Robbery acquires the more honourable name of Conqueſt ; and the aſſaſſin is dignified with the title of Warrior.

In the mountains which ſeparate Perſia from India, the nature and face of the country have formed a different ſpecies of ſociety. Every valley contains a community ſubject to a prince, whoſe deſpotiſm is tempered, by an idea eſtabliſhed among his people, that he is the chief of their blood, as well as their ſovereign. They obey him without reluctance, as they derive credit to their family from his greatneſs. They attend him in his wars, with the attachment which children have for a parent; and his government, though ſevere, partakes more of the rigid diſcipline of a general, than of the caprice of a deſpot. Rude as the face of their country, and fierce and wild as the ſtorms which cover their mountains, they love incurſion and depredation, and delight in plunder and in battle. United firmly to their friends in war, to their enemies faithleſs and cruel. They place juſtice in force, and conceal treachery under the name of addreſs. Such are the Afgans or Patans, who conquered India and held it for ages.

and Afgan ariſtocracies.

The deſpotiſm which the Patans eſtabliſhed in their conqueſts, partook of the violence of their national character at home. Their government was oppreſſive through pride, and tyrannical from paſſion rather than from avarice. Reinforced by ſucceſſive migrations from the mountains of Afganiſtân, they retained their native

Deſpotiſm of the Patans different

ſpirit in the midſt of the luxuries of India. When the monarch became voluptuous and degenerate, they ſupplied his place with ſome hardy chieftain from the north, who communicated his own vigour to the great machine of the ſtate. The empire was ſupported by a ſucceſſion of abilities, rather than by an hereditary ſucceſſion of princes; and it was the countrymen, and not the poſterity of the firſt conquerors, who continued the dominion of the Patâns over India.

from that of the Moguls.

The conqueſt of India by the family of Timur, proceeded from the abilities of one man, and not from the effort of a nation. Baber himſelf was a ſtranger in the country in which he reigned, before he penetrated beyond the Indus. His troops conſiſted of ſoldiers of fortune, from various countries; his officers were men who owed their rank to merit, not to ſucceſſion. The religion of Mahommed, which they in common profeſſed, and their obedience to one leader, were the only ties which united the conquerors upon their arrival; and they were ſoon diſſipated in the extenſive dominions which their arms ſubdued. The character of the prince went down on the current of government; and the mild diſpoſition of his ſucceſſors contributed to confirm the humane deſpotiſm which he had introduced into his conqueſts.

Cauſe of that difference.

A continued influx of ſtrangers from the northern Aſia, became neceſſary for the ſupport of princes who profeſſed a different faith with their ſubjects, in the vaſt empire of India. The army was recruited with ſoldiers from different nations; the court was occupied by nobles from various kingdoms. The latter were followers of the Mahommedan religion. In the regulations and ſpirit of the Coran, they loſt their primary and characteriſtical ideas upon government; and the whole ſyſtem was formed and enlivened by the limited principles which Mahommed promulgated in the deſarts of Arabia.

from their religion.

The faith of Mahommed is peculiarly calculated for deſpotiſm; and it is one of the greateſt cauſes which muſt fix for ever the duration of that ſpecies of government in the Eaſt. The legiſlator furniſhes a proof of this poſition in his own conduct. He derived his ſucceſs from the ſword, more than from his eloquence and addreſs. The tyranny which he eſtabliſhed was of the moſt extenſive kind. He enſlaved the mind as well as the body. The abrupt argument of the ſword brought conviction, when perſuaſion and deluſion failed. He effected a revolution and change in the human mind, as well as in ſtates and empires; and the ambitious will continue to ſupport a ſyſtem which lays its foundation on the paſſive obedience of thoſe whom Fortune has once placed beneath their power.

Deſpotiſm

The unlimited power which Mahommedaniſm gives to every man in his own family, habituates mankind to ſlavery. Every child is taught, from his infancy, to look upon his father as the abſolute diſpoſer of life and death. The number of wives and concubines which the more wealthy and powerful entertain, is a cauſe of animoſity and quarrel, which nothing but a ſevere and unaccountable power in the maſter of a family can repreſs. This private ſpecies of deſpotiſm is, in miniature, the counterpart of what prevails in the ſtate; and it has the ſame effect, in reducing all the paſſions under the dominion of fear. Jealouſy itſelf, that moſt violent of the feelings of the ſoul, is curbed within the walls of the haram. The women may pine in ſecret, but they muſt clothe their features with cheerfulneſs when their lord appears. Contumacy is productive of immediate puniſhment. They are degraded, divorced, chaſtiſed, and even ſometimes put to death, according to the degree of their crime or obſtinacy, or the wrath of the offended huſband. No enquiry is made concerning their fate. Their friends may murmur; but the laws provide no redreſs; for no appeals to public juſtice iſſue forth from the haram.

Young men, with their minds moulded to ſubjection, become themſelves maſters of families in the courſe of time. Their power being confined within their own walls, they exerciſe in private, that deſpotiſm which they in public dread. But though they are freed from domeſtic tyranny, they ſtill continue ſlaves. Governors, magiſtrates, and inferior officers, inveſted with the power of the principal deſpot, whoſe will is law to the empire, exerciſe their authority with rigour. The idea of paſſive obedience is carried through every vein of the ſtate. The machine connected in all its parts, by arbitrary ſway, is moved by the active ſpirit of the prince; and the lenity or oppreſſiveneſs of government, in all its departments depends upon the natural diſpoſition of his mind.

of the maſters of families.

The law of compenſation for murder, authoriſed by the Coran, is attended with pernicious effects. It depreſſes the ſpirit of the poor; and encourages the rich in the unmanly paſſion of revenge. The price of blood in India is not the third part of the value of a horſe. The innate principles of juſtice and humanity are weakened, by theſe means; ſecurity is taken from ſociety, as rage may frequently get the better of the love of money. A religion which indulges individuals in a crime, at which the reſt of mankind ſhudder, leaves ample room for the

Law of compenſation for murder.

cruelty of a prince. Accuſtomed to ſit in judgment on criminals, he becomes habituated to death. He miſtakes paſſion for juſtice. His nod is condemnation; men are dragged to execution, with an abruptneſs which prevents fear. The incident has no conſequence, but to impreſs terror on the guilty or ſuſpected; and the ſpectators ſcarcely heed a circumſtance, which its frequency has made them to expect.

Bathing. The frequent bathing inculcated by the Coran, has, by debilitating the body, a great effect on the mind. Habit makes the warm bath a luxury of a bewitching kind. The women ſpend whole days in water; and haſten by it the approach of age. The indolence of the men, which induces them to follow every mode of placid pleaſure, recommends to them a practice which Mahommed has made a tenet of religion. The prohibition of wine is alſo favourable to deſpotiſm. It prevents that free communication of ſentiment which awakens mankind from a torpid indifference to their natural rights. They become cold, timid, cautious, reſerved and intereſted; ſtrangers to thoſe warm paſſions, and that cheerful elevation of mind, which render men in ſome meaſure honeſt and ſincere. In the Eaſt, there are no public places of meeting, no communications of ſentiments, no introduction to private friendſhip. A ſullenneſs, and a love of retirement prevail, which diſunite mankind; and as all aſſociations among men are prevented, the hands of government are ſtrengthened by the very virtue of temperance.

Predeſtination.

The doctrine of a rigid fate, or abſolute predeſtination, which forms one of the principal tenets of the Mahommedan religion, has a great influence on the character and manners of men. When this opinion is adopted as an article of faith, the neceſſity of precaution is inculcated in vain. The fataliſt begins an action becauſe human nature is incapable of abſolute idleneſs; but when a love of repoſe invites him, when an obſtacle ariſes before him to thwart his deſigns, he has no motive for perſeverance. He waits for another day, perhaps for another month: he at laſt truſts the whole to Providence, and makes God the agent in his very crimes. Miſcarriage can be no diſgrace where ſucceſs depends not on abilities; and the general who loſes a battle through his own puſillanimity, lays the blame upon Providence.

Polygamy.

The extenſive polygamy permitted by the law of Mahommed, has a fatal effect on the minds of his followers; but it has its advantages as well as its defects. The peculiar nature of the climate ſubjects women to diſeaſes,

eaſes, and hurries them forward in a few years to age. One man retains his vigour beyond the common ſucceſſion of three women through their prime; and the law for a multiplicity of wives is neceſſary for the ſupport of the human race. But the cuſtom weakens paternal affection; for as a huſband cannot equally divide his regard among many women, the children of the favourite will be preferred. Even theſe will not be much beloved. The loſs of a child is no misfortune; and the care of preſerving it is leſſened, by the opportunity which the number of his women furniſhes to the father for begetting more. The child himſelf is no ſtranger to this indifference; and he fails in proportion in his duty. Beſides, the jealouſy between mothers in the haram grows into hatred among their ſons. The affection between brothers is annihilated at home; and when they iſſue forth into the world, they carry their animoſities into all the various tranſactions of life.

Concealment of women.

Theſe religious tenets, which are ſo favourable to deſpotiſm, are accompanied with ſingular opinions and cuſtoms, which are abſolute enemies to freedom and independence. The concealment of their women is ſacred among the Mahommedans. Brothers cannot viſit them in private; ſtrangers muſt never ſee them. This exceſſive jealouſy is derived from various cauſes. It proceeds from religion, which inculcates female modeſty; it ariſes partly from the policy of government; it is derived from the nature of the climate, where continence is a more arduous virtue than in the bleak regions of the north. Honour conſiſts in that which men are moſt ſolicitous to ſecure. The chaſtity of his wives is a point, without which the Aſiatic muſt not live. The deſpot encourages the opinion; as the poſſeſſion of the women of his moſt powerful ſubjects is a ſufficient pledge for their faith, when abſent in expedition and war.

Its effect.

When the governor of a province falls under the ſuſpicion of diſaffection for his prince, the firſt ſtep taken againſt him, is an order iſſued for ſending his women to court. Even one of his wives, and ſhe too not the beſt beloved, will bind him to his allegiance. His obedience to this mandate is the true teſt of his deſigns. If he inſtantly obeys, all ſuſpicions vaniſh; if he heſitates a moment, he is declared a rebel. His affection for the woman is not the pledge of his fidelity; but his honour is, in her perſon, in the cuſtody of his ſovereign. Women are ſo ſacred in India, that even the common ſoldiery leave them unmoleſted in the midſt of ſlaughter and devaſtation. The haram is a ſanctuary againſt all the licentiouſneſs of victory; and rufſians, covered with the blood of a huſband, ſhrink back with confuſion from the ſecret apartments of his wives.

on their manners.

In the ſilence which attends deſpotiſm, every thing is dark and ſolemn. Juſtice itſelf is executed with privacy; and ſometimes a ſolitary gun, fired at midnight from the palace of the deſpot, proclaims the work of death. Men indulge themſelves under the veil of ſecrecy; and rejoice in their good fortune, when their pleaſures can eſcape the eye of their prince. Voluptuouſneſs is, therefore, preferred to luxury. The enjoyment of the company of women is the chief object of life among the great; and when they retire into the ſanctuary of the haram, they forget, in a variety of charms, their precarious ſituation in the ſtate. The neceſſary privacy enhances the indulgence; and the extreme ſenſibility, perhaps, peculiar to the natives of a hot climate, carries pleaſure to an exceſs which unmans the mind. Men are poſſeſſed of ſomething which they are afraid to loſe; and deſpotiſm, which is founded on the principles of fear and indolence, derives ſtability and permanency from the defects and vices of its ſlaves.

Reflections

The ſeeds of deſpotiſm, which the nature of the climate and fertility of the ſoil had ſown in India, were, as has been obſerved, reared to perfect growth by the Mahommedan faith. When a people have been long ſubjected to arbitrary power, their return to liberty is arduous and almoſt impoſſible. Slavery, by the ſtrength of cuſtom, is blended with human nature; and that undefined ſomething, called Public Virtue, exiſts no more. The ſubject never thinks of reformation; and the prince, who only has it in his power, will introduce no innovations to abridge his own authority. Were even the deſpot poſſeſſed of the enthuſiaſm of public ſpirit, the people would revolt againſt the introduction of freedom; and revert to that form of government, which takes the trouble of regulation from their hands.

on the nature

The ſimplicity of deſpotiſm recommends it to an indolent and ignorant race of men. Its obvious impartiality, its prompt juſtice, its immediate ſeverity againſt crimes, dazzle the eyes of the ſuperficial, and raiſe in their minds a veneration little ſhort of idolatry for their prince. When he is active and determined in his meaſures, the great machine moves with a velocity which throws vigour into the very extremities of the empire. His violence, and even his caprices, are virtues, where the waters muſt be always agitated to preſerve their freſhneſs; and indolence and irreſolution can be his only ruinous vices. The firſt indeed may injure the ſtate; but by the latter it muſt be undone. A ſevere prince, by his jealouſy of his own authority, prevents the tyranny of others; and, though fierce and arbitrary in himſelf, the ſubject derives a benefit from his being the ſole deſpot. His rage falls heavy on the dignified ſlaves of his preſence; but the people eſcape his fury in their diſtance from his hand.

of deſpotiſm.

The deſpotic form of government is not, however, ſo terrible in its nature, as men born in free countries are apt to imagine. Though no civil regulation can bind the prince, there is one great law, the ideas of mankind with regard to right and wrong, by which he is bound. When he becomes an aſſaſſin, he teaches others to uſe the dagger againſt himſelf; and wanton acts of injuſtice, often repeated, deſtroy by degrees that opinion which is the ſole foundation of his power. In the indifference of his ſubjects for his perſon and government, he becomes liable to the conſpiracies of courtiers, and the ambitious ſchemes of his relations. He may have many ſlaves, but he can have no friends. His perſon is expoſed to injury. A certainty of impunity may arm even cowards againſt him; and thus, by his exceſſive ardour for power, he with his authority loſes his life.

Mild under Baber.

Deſpotiſm appears in its moſt engaging form, under the Imperial houſe of Timur. The uncommon abilities of moſt of the princes, with the mild and humane character of all, rendered Hindoſtan the moſt flouriſhing empire in the world during two complete centuries. The manly and generous temper of Baber permitted not oppreſſion to attend the victories of his ſword. He came with an intention to govern the nations whom he ſubdued; and ſelfiſh motives joined iſſue with humanity in not only ſparing, but protecting the vanquiſhed. His invaſion was no abrupt incurſion for plunder; and he thought the uſual income of the crown a ſufficient reward for his toil. His nobles were gratified with the emoluments of government; and, from diſpoſition, an enemy to uſeleſs pomp and grandeur, he choſe that his treaſury ſhould be gradually filled with the ſurplus of the revenue, than with the property of individuals, whom the fortune of war had placed beneath his power. Awed by his high character, the companions of his victories carried his mildneſs and ſtrict equity through all the departments of government. The tyranny of the family of Lodi was forgotten; and the arts, which had been ſuppreſſed by a violent deſpotiſm, began to rear their heads, under the temperate dominion of Baber.

Humaioon.

Humaioon, though not equal in abilities to his father, carried all his mild virtues into the throne. He was vigilant and activein the adminiſtration of juſtice, he ſecured property by his edicts; and, an enemy to rapacity himſelf, he puniſhed the oppreſſive avarice of his deputies in the provinces. The troubles which diſturbed his reign were the effect of the ambition of others; and his expulſion from the throne was leſs a misfortune to him than to his ſubjects. When he returned with victory, he left the mean paſſion of revenge behind. He puniſhed not his people for his own diſaſters; he ſeemed to forget the paſt, in the proſpect of doing future good. The nations of India felt, by the benefit received from his preſence, how much they had loſt by his abſence. Though worn out under a ſucceſſion of tyrants, during his exile, Hindoſtan began to revive when he re-mounted the throne. His ſudden and unexpected death portended a ſtorm, which was diſſipated by the ſplendid abilities and virtues of his ſon.

Akbar.

Akbar was poſſeſſed of Baber's intrepidity in war, of Humaioon's mildneſs in peace. Bold, manly, and enterprizing, he was an enemy to oppreſſion; and he hated cruelty, as he was a ſtranger to fear. In the more ſplendid buſineſs of the field, he forgot not the arts of peace.

He eſtabliſhed, by edict, the right of the ſubject to tranſfer his property without the conſent of the crown, and by ordering a regiſter of the fixed rents of the lands to be kept in the courts of juſtice in every diſtrict, he took from his officers the power of oppreſſing the people. Severe in his juſtice, he never forgave extortion. He promoted juſt complaints againſt the ſervants of the crown, by various proclamations. He encouraged trade, by an exemption of duties through the interior provinces; and by the invariable protection given to merchants of all nations. He regarded neither the religious opinions nor the countries of men: all who entered his dominions were his ſubjects, and they had a right to his juſtice. He iſſued an edict which was afterwards revived by Aurungzêbe, that the rents ſhould not be increaſed upon thoſe who improved their lands, which wiſe regulation encouraged induſtry, and became a ſource of wealth to the ſtate.

Jehangire.

Jehangire, though unfit for the field, trod in his father's path in regulating the civil affairs of the ſtate. Impreſſed with a high ſenſe of the abilities of Akbar, he continued all his edicts in force; and he was the invariable protector of the people againſt the rapacity and tyranny of his own officers. In his adminiſtration of juſtice, he was ſcrupulous, ſevere, and exact; and if he at any time gave a wrong deciſion, it proceeded from a weakneſs rather than from a vice of the mind.

Shaw Jehân.

His ſon, Shaw Jehân, was poſſeſſed of better parts, and was more attentive than Jehangire to the buſineſs of the ſubject. He was minutely acquainted with the ſtate of the empire, and being free from that caprice and whim which threw a kind of diſgrace on the authority of his father, he rendered his people happy by the gravity, juſtice, and ſolemnity of his deciſions. The empire flouriſhed under his upright and able adminiſtration. Oppreſſion was unknown from the officers of the crown, on account of the vigilance of the emperor; and the ſtrict impartiality which he eſtabliſhed in the courts of juſtice, diminiſhed injuries between man and man.

Aurungzêbe.

Aurungzêbe, to whom buſineſs was amuſement, added the moſt extenſive knowledge of the affairs of the empire, to an unremitting application. He made himſelf minutely acquainted with the revenue paid by every diſtrict, with the mode of proceeding in the inferior courts, and even with the character and diſpoſition of the ſeveral judges. He ordered the regiſter of the rents to be left open for the inſpection of all, that the people might diſtinguiſh extortion from the juſt demands of the crown. He commanded, that men verſed in the uſages of the ſeveral courts, in the precepts of the Coran, and in the regulations eſtabliſhed by edicts, ſhould attend at the public expence, and give their opinion to the poor in matters of litigation. He eſtabliſhed a mode of appeal beyond certain ſums; and he diſgraced judges for an error in judgment, and puniſhed them ſeverely for corruption and partiality. His activity kept the great machine of government in motion through all its members: his penetrating eye followed oppreſſion to its moſt ſecret retreats, and his ſtern juſtice eſtabliſhed tranquillity, and ſecured property over all his extenſive dominions.

State of landed

When Baber, at the head of his army, took poſſeſſion of the dominions of the Imperial family of Lodi, he continued to the crown the property of all the lands. Theſe being annually rented out to the ſubject, furniſhed thoſe immenſe revenues which ſupported the unequalled ſplendor of his ſucceſſors in the throne. The property of individuals conſiſted, at firſt, of moveables and money only; and the officers of the crown could not even diſpoſe of theſe by will, without the written conſent of the prince. Time, however, wrought a change in things. The poſterity of Baber alienated, for particular ſervices, eſtates from the crown in perpetuity; and theſe deſcended in ſucceſſion by will, or if the proprietor died inteſtate, by an equal diviſion to his children, according to the law of the Coran. This kind of property was alſo transferable by ſale; and it has been judged, that one third part of the empire was given away by this ſpecies of grants from the crown.

Property. These grants, however, were not always a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the violence of the crown. Some of the emperors found themſelves obliged to reſume many eſtates by an edict; and it muſt be confeſſed, that political neceſſity juſtified the meaſure. Princes who contended for the empire were laviſh in their donations; and, had not an act of reſumption ſometimes taken place, the revenue of the crown would, in proceſs of time, have been annihilated. There was, however, a kind of equivalent given to the proprietors; a penſion was ſettled upon themſelves, and their children were received into the ſervice of the government. The wealth of the officers of the crown is, after their death, conſidered as Imperial property; but unleſs it is immenſe, it is never appropriated by the prince; and even in that caſe a proper proviſion is made for the children, and they have, by an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, a right to be employed in ſome of the departments of the ſtate. The women of the deceaſed receive annual penſions according

ing to their rank ; and they may either live in widowhood, or make new alliances by marriage.

Of titles of honour.

The Mogul ſyſtem of government admits of no hereditary honours. Every man muſt owe his preferment and rank to himſelf, and to the favour of his prince. High birth, however, was reſpected; and, to a perſon of abilities, it was a great recommendation at the court of princes proud of their own noble origin. The ranks and degrees of nobility were for the moſt part official, excepting thoſe of the military kind. Judges, men of letters, and eminent merchants, have been frequently dignified with titles, and admitted into the circle of the principal nobles in the Imperial preſence. The nobles conſiſted of three orders. The EMIRS, who were the firſt officers of ſtate, and the viceroys of provinces; the CHANS, who held high poſts in the army; and the BAHADURS, who may in ſome meaſure be compared to our knights. The number of which theſe three orders conſiſted was arbitrary, and each of them had peculiar privileges in the empire, and a demand on the reſpect of the undignified part of the ſubjects.

Form of

The courſe of juſtice ran through the ſame gradations, which the general reaſon of mankind ſeems to have eſtabliſhed in all countries ſubject to regular governments.

ments. The provinces were divided into diſtricts; in each of which a judge, appointed by the emperor, decided in criminal as well as civil affairs. He pronounced judgment on capital offences, but his ſentence was never put in execution without the conſent and warrant of the governor of the province. In diſputes concerning property, there lay an appeal to the ſupreme court, in which the viceroy preſided in perſon. Every province was, in miniature, a copy of the empire. Three principal judges, with high titles of dignity, ſat, with many aſſeſſors, in the capital. They not only decided upon appeals, but ſuits might originate before them. The emperor himſelf, in the preſence of his nobles, preſided almoſt every day in this court, which generally ſat for two hours in the hall of public juſtice.

juſtice.

When the matter appeared clear, the prince, without much heſitation, pronounced judgment; when it was doubtful, witneſſes were examined, and the opinion of the judges aſked on the point of law. Should the ſuit appear intricate, it was referred to the judgment of the court in their own common hall; but the ſubject might appeal from their deciſion to the emperor and his aſſeſſors in the chamber of audience. Theſe courts, both when the monarch was preſent and when he was abſent, were left open to the people. No judgment was ever pro-

nounced

nounced ſecretly, except when the power of the delinquent rendered a public trial dangerous to the ſtate.

Council of ſtate.

The great officers of ſtate, by a kind of preſcription, formed a council which anſwers to our cabinet. The emperor aſked their advice upon affairs of moment; he heard their ſentiments, but nothing came ever to a vote. They were his adviſers, but they had no controul on his power. He frequently called to this council men in inferior departments; and when the deliberation concerned any particular province, the nobles beſt acquainted with that part of the empire, were admitted into the cabinet. The offences of the firſt rank of nobility came under the cognizance of this council, as well as other matters of ſtate. They were a kind of jury, who found the matters of fact, and the ſovereign pronounced the ſentence. He might, by his deſpotic power, iſſue out a warrant of death without their advice; but the known opinions of mankind on that ſubject bound him like a law.

Reflections.

To theſe great lines of the government of the Moguls, ſome reflections may be joined. Conqueſts made by incurſion, rather than by war, muſt be retained by violence. The ſword, which obtained the empire, ſupported it under the houſe of Timur. Their ſubjects obeyed them from neceſſity more than from choice; and the lenity of their adminiſtration aroſe more from the mildneſs of their diſpoſition, than from the ſpirit of their regulations. The deſpotic principles of the Tartars, ingrafted upon the Mahommedan tenets of religion, led to force; and ſeemed to recognize no obedience but that which proceeded from fear. This circumſtance obliged the deſpot to inveſt his deputies in the provinces with a great part of his power; and when they left his capital, they only did not abſolutely riſe from ſubjects into princes.

on the com-
munication

This communication of power, though in ſome meaſure neceſſary to command the people, became dangerous to the prince. The Imperial deputies began to loſe their allegiance in proportion to their diſtance from the throne. The governors became, in ſome meaſure, independent, though they profeſſed obedience to the Imperial edicts. A certain portion of the revenue was remitted to court; and the deputy, in a venal court, found frequently means to retain the favour of his prince, when he diſobeyed his commands. Every idea of loyalty was, towards the decline of the empire, deſtroyed among the people of the diſtant provinces. They heard of an emperor, as the ſuperſtitious hear of a guardian angel, whom they never behold. An indifference for his fate ſucceeded to his want of power. A peaſant, at the end of many months, was informed of a revolution at Delhi. He ſtopt not his oxen, nor converted the plow-ſhare into a ſword. He whiſtled unconcerned along his field; and enquired not, perhaps, concerning the name of the new prince.

of power.

Notwithſtanding this indifference in the inferior ſort, the emperor every day extended ſymptoms of his ſuperior power to the very extremities of his empire. His edicts were tranſmitted to every diſtrict; they were publicly read, and regiſtered in the courts of juſtice. They became a ſecurity to the people againſt the impoſitions of the governor. An appeal lay from his deciſions, by a petition to the emperor in the hall of audience. This doctrine was inculcated by the edicts; and ſome of the oppreſſed took advantage of the promiſe of juſtice which they contained. Their petitions, whenever they found acceſs to the throne, were heard with the attention which a jealous prince pays to his own power; and there are many inſtances in which the governors of provinces have been ſeverely puniſhed for an act of injuſtice to a poor peaſant. Never to forgive oppreſſions againſt the helpleſs and low, was an eſtabliſhed maxim among all the princes of the houſe of Timur.

On the rules of

The power of diſpoſing of the ſucceſſion naturally belongs to a deſpot. During his life, his pleaſure is the law. When he dies his authority ceaſes; but the ſtrength of cuſtom has made his will, in favour of any of his ſons, a ſuperior title to primogeniture. The power is, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary. A prince having an independent right of ſucceſſion to the throne, might be very troubleſome to his father in an empire eſtabliſhed on the principles which we have deſcribed. The weight which he might derive from his hopes, would clog the wheels of government, which, under a ſyſtem of deſpotiſm, can admit of no delays, no obſtructions, no divided or limited power. Perſonal abilities, under ſuch a ſyſtem, are more neceſſary than under eſtabliſhed laws. A weak prince brings more calamities than a civil war. A minority is dreadful; and it can ſcarce exiſt, where the voice of the prince is the living law, which moves the whole machine of the ſtate.

Succeſſion to the throne.

Neceſſity frequently excuſes, in the eyes of mankind, the worſt of crimes. A prince of abilities, who mounts a throne in the Eaſt by the excluſion of an elder brother, eſcapes the deteſtation of his ſubjects from the good which they hope to derive from his ſuperior parts. Even fratricide loſes its name in ſelf-preſervation, combined with the public good. The greatneſs of the crime is eclipſed by the greatneſs of the object. Succeſs is a divine deciſion; and the ſtate gives up the lives of the unhappy ſufferers, as a ſacrifice to its own repoſe. To be born a prince, is therefore a misfortune of the worſt and moſt embarraſſing kind. He muſt die by clemency, or wade through the blood of his family to ſafety and empire.

Mildneſs

The Hindoos, or the followers of the Brahmin faith, are in number far ſuperior to the Mahommedans in Hindoſtan. The ſyſtem of religion which they profeſs, is only perfectly known in the effect which it has upon the manners of the people. Mild, humane, obedient, and induſtrious, they are of all nations on earth the moſt eaſily conquered and governed. Their government, like that of all the inhabitants of Aſia, is deſpotic; it is, in ſuch a manner, tempered by the virtuous principles inculcated by their religion, that it ſeems milder than the moſt limited monarchy in Europe. Some of the reigning princes trace their families, with clearneſs, above four thouſand years; many of them, in a dubious manner, from the dark period which we place beyond the flood. Revolution and change are things unknown; and aſſaſſinations and conſpiracies never exiſt.

of the

Penal laws are ſcarce known among the Hindoos; for their motives to bad actions are few. Temperate in

their

their living, and delicate in their conſtitutions, their paſſions are calm, and they have no object but that of living with comfort and eaſe. Timid and ſubmiſſive, from the coldneſs of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Induſtrious and frugal, they poſſeſs wealth which they never uſe. Thoſe countries, governed by native princes, which lay beyond the devaſtations of the Mahommedans, are rich, and cultivated to the higheſt degree. Their governors encourage induſtry and commerce; and it is to the ingenuity of the Hindoos, we owe all the fine manufactures in the Eaſt. During the empire of the Moguls, the trade of India was carried on by the followers of Brahma. The bankers, ſcribes, and managers of finance were native Hindoos, and the wiſeſt princes of the family of Timur protected and encouraged ſuch peaceable and uſeful ſubjects.

Hindoo government.

The nation of the Mahrattors, though chiefly compoſed of Rajaputs, or that tribe of Indians whoſe chief buſineſs is war, retain the mildneſs of their countrymen in their domeſtic government. When their armies carry deſtruction and death into the territories of Mahommedans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no impoſition or obſtruction from the officers of government, no protection neceſſary but the ſhade. To be a ſtranger is a ſufficient ſecurity. Proviſions are furniſhed by hoſpitality; and when a peaſant is aſked for water, he runs with great alacrity, and fetches milk. This is no ideal picture of happineſs. The Author of the Diſſertation, who travelled lately into the country of the Mahrattors, avers, from experience, the truth of his obſervations. But the Mahrattors, who have been repreſented as barbarians, are a great and riſing people, ſubject to a regular government, the principles of which are founded on virtue.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF BENGAL:

WITH A Plan for reſtoring that Province to its former Proſperity and Splendor.

STATE OF BENGAL UNDER THE MOGULS.

Preliminary Obſervations.

Reflections.

THE affairs of India, though long of great importance to this kingdom, have only very lately become objects of public attention. Facts coming from afar made little impreſſion: their novelty could not rouze, nor their variety amuſe the mind. With a ſelf-denial uncommon in a ſpirited nation, we heard, without emotion, of the great actions of ſome of our countrymen; and, if we liſtened to any detail of oppreſſions committed by others, it was with a phlegmatic indifference, unworthy of our boaſted humanity. A general diſtaſte for the ſubject prevailed; an age, marked with revolution and change, ſeemed ready to paſs away, without being ſenſible of events which will render it important in the eyes of poſterity.

Deſign of the author.

The current of public opinion has, at length, taken another direction. Men are rouzed into attention, with regard to a ſubject which concerns the welfare of the ſtate. They begin to decide, in their own minds, upon affairs which ſtand in need of the interpoſition of the nation; and they ſhew an inclination to be informed, as well as a willingneſs to correct miſtakes and to redreſs grievances. This conſideration has induced the author of the following obſervations, to ſubmit them, with all due deference, to the public. He has been, for years, a ſilent ſpectator of the tranſactions of the Britiſh nation in the Eaſt; and it is, from the means of information which he has poſſeſſed, that he hopes to give ſomething new to the world. With hands guiltleſs of rapine and depredation, he aſſumes the pen without prejudice, and he will uſe it with all decent freedom without fear.

A brief account

The empire of the Hindoos over all India, came down from the darkeſt and moſt remote antiquity, to the 170th year before the Chriſtian æra, when it was diſſolved by civil diſcord and war. Bengal, like many other provinces, ſtarted up into an independent kingdom, and was governed by ſucceſſive dynaſties of Rajas, who chiefly reſided at the now deſerted capital of Ghor. Under theſe princes, it continued a powerful and opulent kingdom, to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was firſt invaded by the Mahommedans, under a prince of the race of Chillagi, who poſſeſſed the countries near the ſource of the Oxus. The name of this Tartar invader was Eas-ul-dien; but he was ſoon after reduced to ſubjection by Altumſh, the Patan emperor of Delhi, who formed Bengal into a province, governed by a lieutenant, who derived his authority from the conqueror.

Of the various revolutions

Bengal, during the dominion of the Patans in India, was frequently ſubject to revolution and change. When a prince of abilities ſat on the throne of Delhi, it held of the empire; when the emperor was weak, it became an independent ſovereignty under its governor. When the valour and conduct of Baber put an end to the government of the Patans at Delhi, ſome of that race remained untouched in Bengal. The misfortunes of Humaioon, in the beginning of his reign, not only prevented him from extending the conqueſts of his father, but deprived him even of the throne which Baber had acquired; and death followed too ſoon, upon his return, to permit him to reduce the wealthy kingdom of Bengal by his arms. The glory of this conqueſt was reſerved for his ſon, the illuſtrious Akbar, who, by the expulſion of Daoôd, the laſt king of Bengal of the Patan race, annexed it in the year 1574 to his empire. Viceroys from Delhi governed the kingdom, from that period, till the debility of Mahommed Shaw gave ſcope to the uſurpation of Aliverdi; and now, by a wonderful revolution of fortune, the ſovereigns of that diſtant province are created by the deputies of the Eaſt India company.

of Bengal. To give an enlarged idea of the ſubject, it may not be improper to enquire into the mode of government, which the Moguls eſtabliſhed in the important province of Bengal. To impoſe nothing merely ſpeculative upon the public, the Writer of the Diſſertation has endeavoured to derive his information from undoubted authority. He has, therefore, tranſlated and annexed to his work, the commiſſions granted by the court of Delhi to its principal officers in the provinces: From which it will appear, that the deſpotiſm of the houſe of Timur was circumſcribed by eſtabliſhed forms and regulations, which greatly tempered the rigid ſeverity of that form of government.

Various Tenures under the Moguls.

THE Mogul Tartars, when they conquered India, carried a ſyſtem of neceſſary policy through the countries which their arms had ſubdued. Inſtead of ſeizing the lands of the vanquiſhed, they confirmed them in their poſſeſſions. The number of the conquerors bearing no proportion to the conquered, ſelf-preſervation obliged the firſt to adhere together, and to hold the ſword in their hands. Had they attempted to ſettle in different provinces, they would have ſoon ceaſed to be a people; and their power would have been broken by ſeparation. They retained, therefore, their military character; and, when they reduced a province, they made the taxes paid to former princes, the invariable rule of their impoſts. The people changed their lords, but if their government ſuffered any change, it was in the ſubſtitution of a milder deſpotiſm, in the place of the fierce tyranny of the Patans.

Policy of the Moguls.

Many of the Rajas, or indigenous Indian princes, had, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Mahommedans in India, been permitted to retain a great part of their ancient poſſeſſions, which they continued to govern by their own laws, without any appeal from their juriſdiction

Tributary Rajas.

tion to the courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed by Imperia commiſſions. The only mark of homage paid by the Rajas, was a certain annual tribute. The houſe of Timur, no leſs remarkable for their prudence than for their clemency and juſtice, never encroached upon the privileges of the tributary princes. They found, that though the Rajas paid not to the crown above half the ſum raiſed upon the ſubject, their policy, induſtry, and good government, were ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Moguls, that the countries which they poſſeſſed, yielded as much in proportion to their extent, as thoſe which they had farmed out to Zemindars of their own nation and faith. In the two provinces which the Britiſh nation now poſſeſs, and which, for the future, we will diſtinguiſh by the general name of Bengal, many diſtricts of greater extent than any county in Britain, are ſtill poſſeſſed by the aboriginal Rajas. But we are more rigid than the Moguls: we have encroached on their privileges, and annihilated their power. During the domination of the houſe of Timur, one fourth of Bengal was ſubject to theſe hereditary lords.

Mahommedan Zemindars.

The diviſion of the province which was more immediately under the Mahommedan government, was parcelled out into extenſive diſtricts, called Chucklas, reſembling, in ſome meaſure, our counties; and into leſſer diviſions, like our ancient tithings. Theſe were lett to Zemindars, or farmers of the Imperial rents, who ſometimes poſſeſſed a whole diſtrict, or Chuckla; as the Zemindar of Purnea, who aſſumed the ſtyle and ſtate of a Nabob, though only a farmer of the revenue, under the unfortunate Surage-ul-Dowla. The court of Delhi, under the beſt princes, was venal. A ſum of money, ſecretly and properly applied, often ſecured the poſſeſſion of his office to the Zemindar during life; and he even was ſometimes enabled to tranſmit it to his heirs, till, by length of time, they were, in ſome meaſure, conſidered as lords of their reſpective diſtricts.

Their power

The farmers, however, had no leaſe from the crown of the lands over which they preſided. Their authority for collecting the rents from the inferior tenants, was derived from a written agreement, for a certain annual ſum to be paid to the treaſury, excluſive of the Imperial taxes. To prevent impoſition on the poorer ſort, in every diſtrict there was eſtabliſhed a regiſter, in which the rents and impoſts upon every village and farm were entered, and open to the inſpection of all. The regiſtered rents and impoſts were collected by the Crorie of the diſtrict, who was eſtabliſhed in his office by an Imperial commiſſion. He was accountable for the whole, even to the laſt Dâm, as the commiſſion expreſſes it, to the Fotadâr or treaſurer of the diſtrict, who paid them into the hands of the Dewan, or receiver-general of the Imperial revenues in the province.

reſtricted

The rights or dues of the Dewanny, or the revenue paid to the crown, did not amount to above half the ſum raiſed upon the ſubject by the great farmers. Theſe were, from time to time, permitted to raiſe the rents upon the inferior tenants, in proportion to the general improvement of the lands. The ſurplus, which was known to government from the public regiſters of the diſtricts, was, in part, allowed to the general farmers, for the purpoſe of building houſes for the huſbandmen, for furniſhing them with implements of agriculture, for embanking to prevent inundations, for making reſervoirs of water for the dry ſeaſon; and, in general, for all expences attending the improvement and cultivation of the lands; which otherwiſe would have rendered the accounts of government intricate and perplexed.

by the crown.

The great farmers, however, were not permitted to oppreſs the tenants with exorbitant rents; neither was it their intereſt to extort from the huſbandmen ſums which would render them incapable of cultivating their lands, and of living comfortably upon the fruits of their toil. In the Imperial officers of the revenue, the poor had friends, and the Zemindar ſpies upon his conduct. They were ſuch checks upon him, that he could conceal nothing from their obſervation. They tranſmitted monthly accounts of his tranſactions to court. If the tenants were able, without oppreſſion, to pay the additional rent, the demands of the crown roſe at the expiration of the year upon the farmer, in proportion to the new impoſt; if they were found incapable of bearing the burden, the Zemindar was turned out of his office for his avarice and imprudence.

A double revenue.

A double revenue, it appears from what has been already obſerved, roſe to the crown from the lands; the ancient rent, eſtabliſhed at the conqueſt of India by the Moguls, and the ſums which proceeded from the annual contracts with the great farmers. The viceroy of the province was veſted with the power of letting the lands; and he was obliged to tranſmit to the receiver-general a record of the ſums payable by each Zemindar. The cauſe of this mode of raiſing the revenue is obvious. The detail of accounts, the making of contracts with the inferior tenants, would have rendered the buſineſs of government too minute and too expenſive; and to have permitted the general farmers to manage their diſtricts without either check or controul, would have given birth to ſcenes of oppreſſion, which Fate had reſerved for an unfortunate people, to our times. The Mogul empire is now no more; and the ſervants of the freeſt nation upon earth have left the body of the people to the mercy of the Zemindars.

Various Zemindars.

The general farmers of diſtricts were not the only perſons known by the name of Zemindars. Men, who poſſeſſed eſtates for life, and ſometimes in perpetuity, free from all taxation, by virtue of Imperial grants, were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame title. Theſe grants were generally given to learned and religious men, to favourite ſervants at court, to ſoldiers who had deſerved well of their prince, and they were reſpected by ſucceeding emperors, and ſeldom revoked. One ſixth-part of the lands in Bengal had been conferred, in perpetuity, by different princes, on their favourites and adherents. Many of theſe eſtates have fallen into the Eaſt India Company, from a failure of heirs; and others daily fall, as the property is not transferable by ſale. A minute enquiry might greatly increaſe our revenue. Many grants ſaid to be derived from the emperor, are only from the governors of the province; many are in the poſſeſſion of men who cannot trace their blood to the original proprietors. A ſucceſſion of revolutions has rolled one part of Bengal upon the other; and it is not hitherto ſettled from confuſion.

Different

Lands were held by a tenure leſs permanent, of the emperors of Hindoſtan. A firmân or Imperial mandate, called by the name of Jagieer, was iſſued frequently to particular men. This ſpecies of grant was for no term of years. It was given through favour, and revocable at pleaſure. When any perſon was raiſed to the rank of an Omrah, it was an eſtabliſhed rule to confer upon him an eſtate, for the ſupport of his dignity. This, however, was nothing more than an aſſignment on the revenues of the crown, ariſing from a ſpecified tract of land in a diſtrict, named in the body of the grant. The grantee had no buſineſs with the tenants, as he never reſided on the eſtate allotted for his ſubſiſtence. He ſent his agent every ſeaſon to the public officers of the diſtrict; and his receipt to them, for his allowance, was received by the Dewan, as a part of the Imperial revenue. No conditions of ſervice, none for the maintenance of troops, was annexed to this grant. Theſe are the fables of men who carried the feudal ideas of Europe into their relation of the ſtate of India. The armies of the empire were paid out of the public treaſury. Every province had its particular eſtabliſhment of troops, which the governors were impowered to augment in times of rebellion and commotion.

tenures

During the domination of the houſe of Timur, there was no transferable landed property in Hindoſtan; excepting gardens, orchards, houſes, and ſome ſmall portions of ground, in the environs of great cities, for which merchants and wealthy tradeſmen had obtained particular grants, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Pottas. This ſpecies of property was repeatedly ſecured by general edicts, for the encouragement of building, for the accommodation of citizens, and the improvement of towns. Grants of this kind did not always proceed from the crown. The governors of provinces were impowered to iſſue Pottas, under certain limitations and reſtrictions: the principal one of which was, that the uſual rent of the ground ſhould be paid regularly by the proprietor, to the collectors of the Imperial revenue.

under the empire.

Tenures of other various kinds were common in Bengal, as well as in the other provinces of the empire. An aſſignment was frequently granted, upon a ſpecified tract of land, for the diſcharge of a certain ſum; and when the ſum was paid, the aſſignment expired. Particular farms were burthened with penſions, called Altumga, to holy men and their deſcendants, without their ever having any concern in the management of the lands. The deſpot reſerved the people entire to himſelf, and eſtabliſhed his power by preventing oppreſſion. Certain impoſts were alſo appropriated for the maintenance of Mullas or prieſts, for the ſupport of places of worſhip, public ſchools, inns, highways, and bridges. Theſe impoſts were laid by the receiver-general of the revenue, upon the different huſbandmen, in proportion to the rent which they paid; and the tax was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the impoſitions of the Dewan.

Civil Officers and Courts of Juſtice.

Deſpotiſm limited

IN ſtates ſubject to deſpotiſm, the legiſlative, the judicial and executive power are veſted in the prince. He is the active principle which exiſts in the center of the machine, and gives life and motion to all its parts. His authority and conſequence, however, depend, in a great meaſure, on the degreee in which he communicates his power to his officers. If he gives them all his authority, the reverence for his perſon is loſt in the ſplendor of his deputies. If he beſtows only a ſmall part of his power on his ſervants, that terror, which is the foundation of his government, is removed from the minds of his ſubjects; and a door is opened for commotion, licentiouſneſs, and crimes. The emperors of India, of the houſe of Timur, had, for two centuries, the good fortune to clothe their officers with that happy medium of authority which was ſufficient to govern, without the power of oppreſſing the body of the people.

among the Moguls.

The deſpotiſm of Hindoſtan, it ought to be obſerved, was never a government of mere caprice and whim. The Mahommedans carried into their conqueſts a code of laws which circumſcribed the will of the prince. The principles and precepts of the Coran, with the commentaries upon that book, form an ample body of laws, which the houſe of Timur always obſerved; and the practice of ages had rendered ſome ancient uſages and edicts ſo ſacred in the eyes of the people, that no prudent monarch would chuſe to violate either by a wanton act of power. It was, beſides, the policy of the prince, to protect the people from the oppreſſiveneſs of his ſervants. Rebellion ſprung always from the great; and it was neceſſary for him to ſecure a party againſt their ambition, among the low.

Nabob,

The Imperial governor of a province, known by the corrupted name of Nabob, in the Eaſt as well as in Europe, was an officer of high dignity and authority; but his power, though great, was far from being unlimited and beyond controul. He conferred titles below the rank of an Omrah; he was permitted to grant eſtates till they ſhould be confirmed by the crown. He appointed and diſmiſſed at pleaſure all officers both civil and military, excepting a few, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention, who acted by commiſſion, under the ſeal of the empire; and ſome of theſe, upon miſbehaviour, he could ſuſpend till the emperor's pleaſure was known. He let the lands to the general farmers, in conjunction with the Dewan; but he bore no part in the collection of the revenue, but by aiding the Imperial officers with the military power. The Omrahs, who ſerved under him in the army, having generally, on account of the convenience, their allowance from the emperor on the rents of the province, he had the power, for diſobedience or notorious crimes, to ſuſpend them from their Jagieers, until he ſhould receive an anſwer from court, where the diſpute was examined in the cabinet. In matters of juſtice, there reſted an appeal to his tribunal, from the Cazi or chief-juſtice, though he ſeldom choſe to reverſe the decrees of that judge. Diſputes where property was not concerned, and where the eſtabliſhed laws had made no proviſion, were ſettled by his authority; but he was inſtructed at his peril not to turn the ſubjects of the empire out of the lands, tenements, or houſes, which they themſelves either poſſeſſed or built, or which deſcended to them from their anceſtors.

Dewan,

The Dewan was the officer next in dignity to the viceroy, in the province. He derived his commiſſion from the emperor, as receiver-general of the revenue. His office was altogether confined to the adminiſtration and collection of the Imperial rents and taxes. He correſponded with the miniſter; he audited the accounts of the governor; and as he had entire to himſelf the charge and diſpoſal of the public money, he might, for good reaſons, refuſe to diſcharge any extraordinary and unprecedented expences; or to iſſue out pay to new troops, raiſed without apparent neceſſity. He preſided in the office called Dafter Ali, or over all the Mutaſiddies, or clerks of the cheque; the Canongoes or public regiſters; Crories, or collectors of the larger diſtricts; Fuſildars, or collectors of the leſſer diſtricts; Fotadars, or treaſurers; Chowdries, or chiefs of diſtricts; Muckuddums, or head-men of villages; and in general over all the officers of the Imperial revenue.

Crorie,

The Crorie of every Pergunna or larger diſtrict, derived his commiſſion from the emperor. His office, though in miniature, was the exact counterpart of the Dewan; being the receiver-general of the county, if the name may be uſed, as the former was of the whole province. He was immediately accountable to the

Dewan, in whoſe office he paſſed his accounts. He produced the receipts of the Fotadar or treaſurer of the Pergunna or diſtrict, for the ſums which he had paid into that officer's hands, from the collections made by the Fuſildars, who, in the ſubdiviſions of the Pergunna, held offices, each of which was a counterpart of his own.

Carcûn.

The Carcûn of the larger diſtricts was an officer commiſſioned by the emperor, to ſettle all matters and diſputes between the tenants and the officers of the revenue, and to preſerve the ancient uſages of the Pergunna. He was alſo a kind of ſpy upon all their private as well as public tranſactions; he audited their accounts publicly, tranſmitting copies of them monthly to court, atteſted by the Sheickdars, Chowdries, and Canongoes of the diſtrict. Theſe accounts being entered with great regularity in the viſier's office at Delhi, the emperor had an immediate view of the collections in the province, before the general accounts of the Dewanny were adjuſted; and this was alſo a great check upon the office of the Dewan.

and other officers.

The view already preſented of the mode of collecting the Imperial revenue, renders it unneceſſary to deſcend through all the inferior offices in the department of the receiver-general. The revenues, it muſt be obſerved, were never tranſmitted entire to the Imperial treaſury in the capital of the province, much leſs into that of the empire. The expences incurred in every diſtrict were deducted from the receipts of the Fotadar or treaſurer of the diſtrict; and the diſburſements of the province in general from thoſe of the Dewan. The ſurplus alone, which was more or leſs according to accident, found its way to the Imperial exchequer. The eſtimates of the Imperial revenues are, therefore, not the ſums received in the exchequer at Delhi, but the groſs collections in every province.

Chief-juſtice.

The courts of juſtice in Bengal, diſtinguiſhed by the general name of Cutcherries, were of various kinds. They generally received their deſignation from the officer who preſided in each, or within whoſe juriſdiction they were comprehended. The Author of the Enquiry is not fully informed concerning the powers of the different judges, or the mode of proceeding in their courts. There aroſe a chain of appeal from the loweſt to the higheſt. An action might be removed from any of the courts below before the Cazi of the province, commonly called Daroga Adalit, or chief-juſtice; and from him there lay an appeal to the tribunal of the viceroy.

Judges.

Inferior judges were appointed by an Imperial commiſſion, in every large diſtrict, and in every conſiderable city, with whom appeals reſted, from the courts in the country, and from the deciſions of Cutwals, or mayors of towns. Theſe Cazis, or judges, were veſted with power to ſummon before them all perſons, to examine records, public regiſters, grants, and witneſſes. They were, at their peril, to paſs judgment impartially, according to the laws of the Coran, and the canons and regulations of the empire. They were impowered to make and diſſolve marriages, to execute contracts of every kind between individuals, to inflict puniſhments, which did not extend to either life or limb. They took cognizance of all riots, diſorders, and tumults; and they were denominated the general guardians of the morals of the people. They were provided with an eſtabliſhment of clerks, regiſters, and officers of the court. They paſſed judgment in a ſummary manner, and their legal fees were one fourth of the matter in diſpute, equally levied upon the plaintiff and defendant. This regulation was intended to prevent vexatious law-ſuits, as well as to bring them to a ſpeedy iſſue. During the vigour of the Mogul empire, capital puniſhments were hardly known in India. When a crime which merited death was committed, the Cazi, after a full proof of the fact, by witneſſes, pronounced ſentence againſt the guilty perſon; but, without the confirmation of the viceroy, it could not be put in execution. Though the empire ſometimes abounded with treaſon, it was never puniſhed but in the field.

Inferior officers.

In each ſubdiviſion of the Pergunna or diſtrict, ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Cazi or judge, there was an inferior officer called a Chowdri, ſimilar to our juſtice of the peace. Every village had its chief-man, who was the conſtable of his own department. A Fogedar was, properly ſpeaking, the commander of the troops, in every military ſtation. He ſometimes farmed the lands in the neighbourhood; and being the immediate repreſentative of the viceroy, he was conſidered as the principal officer in his diſtrict. But he did not ſit in judgment, the civil being always kept diſtinct from the military department, under the government of the Moguls, as long as it retained its vigour. The Zemindars or general farmers, were ſometimes entruſted with the command of the troops in their own diſtricts; but in their courts they decided only upon trivial diſputes between the inferior huſbandmen.—Such was the government of Bengal, under the empire of the houſe of Timur.

Revenue and Commerce.

Revenue of Bengal and Behâr.

A Brief, but it is hoped a comprehenſive, idea being given, in the preceding ſection, of the government of Bengal under the Imperial houſe of Timur, the Author of the Enquiry will proceed to explain the Revenues and Commerce of that once flouriſhing and opulent kingdom. In the reign of the emperor Jehangire, the revenues of the provinces of Bengal and Behâr, both which, for the ſake of brevity, we comprehend under the name of the former, amounted to £ 2,796,719 13 2
Under his grandſon Aurungzêbe
they encreaſed to - - - 2,911,866 7 6

Mahommed Shuffia, who wrote an abridgment of the Hiſtory of the Empire, from the death of the illuſtrious Akbâr to the fatal invaſion of Nadir Shaw, where he mentions the provinces which revolted during the indolent reign of Mahommed Shaw, eſtimates the revenues of Bengal at ſixty crores of Dâms, or one crore and fifty lacks of roupees, which ſum is equal to £ 1,875,000
The revenues of Behâr, according to the
ſame writer, amounted to forty-five
crores of Dâms, or - - - - 1,406,250

£. 3,281,250

Increaſe under the empire.

It appears, from the above calculation, that the revenues of Bengal had been gradually increaſing, in the progreſs of the empire, through time. They continued ſtill to increaſe, under the revolted Nabobs, ſome of whom brought into their treaſury four millions of our money, but not without diſtreſſing the ſubject, and plundering him of a part of his wealth. It may be neceſſary to repeat an obſervation, already made, that not above half the ſum raiſed upon the people came into the coffers of government. The exact ſum tranſmitted annually to Delhi, before the diſſolution of the empire, is not eaſy to aſcertain; but we can form ſome judgment of the amount, from the ruinous policy of the Imperial court, when its ancient vigour began to decline. The provinces of Bengal and Behâr, during ſome years of indolence and debility, were farmed out to the viceroys, who paid into the treaſury, one million two hundred and forty-nine thouſand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence of our money.

Sum annually remitted to Delhi.

This ſum, it is ſuppoſed, was a medium ſtruck, upon an average of years, of the money remitted to the treaſury at Delhi, when the empire retained its force. But this ſtipulated revenue, as might have been foreſeen, was never regularly paid. The viceroys acquired an independent power, by a regulation which threw the whole management of the province into their hands, without controul; and the vigour of the Imperial government, in proportion, declined. The country profited, however, by the refractorineſs of its governor; if his avarice prompted him to raiſe more on the ſubject, the latter was more able than before to pay the additional impoſt, from the revenue being kept and expended in the province. Bengal began to flouriſh, under an additional load of oppreſſion. It yielded more to a ſevere Nabob, than to the milder government of the empire; and being relieved from an annual drain of ſpecie to Delhi, it became opulent under a degree of rapine.

Commerce of

Though deſpotiſm is not the moſt favourable government for commerce, it flouriſhed greatly in Bengal, under the ſtrict juſtice of the houſe of Timur. Senſible of the advantages which they themſelves would derive from a free commercial intercourſe between their ſubjects, they were invariably the protectors of merchants. The military ideas which they brought from Tartary, prevented the principal ſervants of the crown from engaging in trade; and, therefore, monopolies of every kind were diſcouraged, and almoſt unknown. No government in Europe was ever more ſevere againſt foreſtalling and regrating, than was that of the Moguls in India, with regard to all the branches of commerce. A ſmall duty was raiſed by the crown; but this was amply repaid, by the never-violated ſecurity given to the merchant.

Bengal. Bengal, from the mildneſs of its climate, the fertility of its ſoil, and the natural induſtry of the Hindoos, was always remarkable for its commerce. The eaſy communication by water from place to place, facilitated a mercantile intercourſe among the inhabitants. Every village has its canal, every Pergunna its river, and the whole kingdom the Ganges, which falling, by various mouths, into the bay of Bengal, lays open the ocean for the export of commodities and manufactures. A people, from an inviolable prejudice of religion, abſtemious, were averſe to luxury themſelves; and the wants of nature were ſupplied almoſt ſpontaneouſly by the ſoil and climate. The balance of trade, therefore, was, againſt all nations, in favour of Bengal; and it was the ſink where gold and ſilver diſappeared, without the leaſt proſpect of return.

Balance of trade in its favour. All the European nations carried chiefly on their commerce with Bengal in bullion. The Dutch, at a me-

dium

dium of ten years, threw annually into the boſom of that kingdom, in bullion	£	475,000
The Engliſh		192,500
The French, Danes, and Portugueſe		250,000
The exports of Bengal to the gulphs of Perſia and Arabia, were very great. She ſupplied Arabia, Perſia, Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, and the leſſer Aſia with her manufactures, and brought home annually, into her coffers, of gold		375,000
Her trade in opium and piece goods to the eaſtern kingdoms of Aſia, to the Malayan and Philippine iſlands, brought yearly a balance in her favour of		150,000
The inland trade of Bengal, with the upper Hindoſtan and Aſſam		250,000
The coaſting-trade with the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabâr		160,000
	£	1,852,500

Obſervations.

The above eſtimate is made deſignedly low; for were we to argue from general principles, a greater ſum muſt have been imported annually into Bengal. The twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds remitted annually to

Delhi, never returned into the province, and, as there were no mines wrought in the country, the ſurplus of the revenue muſt have proceeded from the balance of trade. Coin, it is well known, loſes greatly by friction, where little alloy is mixed with the ſilver, and where the want of paper-currency makes the circulation extremely rapid. It loſes alſo by re-coinage, which happened annually under the empire in Bengal. The practice of concealing and burying treaſure, which the terrors of deſpotiſm introduced, has occaſioned a conſiderable loſs, beſides the quantity of ſilver and gold uſed in rich manufactures. Theſe various loſſes could be only repaired by a favourable balance of trade; and the ſum which we have ſtated above, would barely ſupply the waſte.

State of Bengal under the revolted Nabobs.

Gradual decline.

THOUGH the cauſes which broke the empire were obvious, the decline of the power of the houſe of Timur was gradual and imperceptible. The ſeeds of decay were long ſown before they were brought to an enormous growth, by the indolence of Mahommed Shaw. Had even the Perſian invaſion never happened, the fabric which Baber raiſed in India was deſtined to fall to ruin. The abilities of Aurungzêbe, by eſtabliſhing half a century of domeſtic tranquility in his dominions, broke the ſpirit of his ſubjects, whilſt that of the Imperial family declined. The diſtant provinces obeyed the mandates of the court, through habit, more than through fear of its reſentment and power; and governors, though deſtitute of ambition, found, in their own indolence, an excuſe for their inattention to commands which could not be inforced with rigour.

The intrigues of the two Seids at the court of Delhi, who raiſed and removed monarchs at pleaſure, weakened that reſpect for the houſe of Timur which bound the allegiance of the ſubject, even after their mildneſs had degenerated into indolence. Every month brought intelligence into the diſtant provinces of the murder of one prince, whilſt another was placed on a throne, ſtill warm with his predeceſſor's blood. The veil which hid deſpotiſm from the eyes of the people, was rent in twain; monarchs became puppets, which the miniſter moved at pleaſure, and even men, who loved ſlavery on its own account, knew not to what quarter to turn their political devotion. The viceroys, under a pretence of an unſettled ſucceſſion, retained the revenues of the provinces; and, with ſpecious profeſſions of loyalty for the Imperial family, they became polite rebels againſt its authority.

of the power

Through

of the empire.

Through this debility in the Imperial line, a new ſpecies of government roſe in various provinces of India. The viceroys, though they aſſumed the ſtate of princes, were ſtill the HUMBLE SLAVES of ſome deſolate monarch, who ſat without either power or dignity in the midſt of the ruins of Delhi. They governed the people in his name, but they liſtened not to his commands. He even became an inſtrument of oppreſſion in their hands; and they ſanctified the moſt unpopular of their meaſures by inducing the prince to paſs, in their own cabinet, regulations, which originated under the ſeals of the empire. Inſtead of a revenue, they remitted to him bribes; and the neceſſity of his ſituation reduced him into a tool, to the very rebels who had ruined his power.

Effect of

This mock form of an empire continued for many years; and ſome provinces are ſtill governed through the medium of a monarch that only ſubſiſts in his name. But though the Nabobs affirmed that they had ſtill an emperor, the people found, in their oppreſſions, that there was none. The check which the terror of complaints to Delhi had laid formerly on the conduct of the viceroys, was now removed; and the officers of the crown who had been placed between the ſubject and the governor, were diſcontinued or deprived of their power. The inferior tenants, inſtead of being ſupported by the Imperial collectors of the revenue againſt the avarice of the general farmers, were ſubmitted, without redreſs, to the management of the latter, and were conſidered by him as a kind of property.

The uſurpation of Aliverdi introduced, more than thirty years ago, the above-deſcribed form of government into Bengal. The ſame policy was continued by his ſucceſſors. They owned the emperor of Delhi for their ſovereign, but they governed the country, and collected its revenues for themſelves. The interpoſition of the crown being removed, the independent Nabobs, who ſucceeded one another either by force or intrigue, adopted a more ſimple, but a more impolitic mode of collecting the rents and impoſts, than that which had been practiſed by the houſe of Timur. The lands were let from year to year to Zemindars, who were accountable for the rents to the treaſury, and the former officers of the revenue, though not annihilated, poſſeſſed neither emolument nor power.

its diſſolution

An intimate knowledge of the country, however, enabled the Nabobs to prevent their government from degenerating into abſolute oppreſſion. They had ſenſe enough to ſee, that their own power depended upon the proſperity of their ſubjects; and their reſidence in the province

on the province.

province gave them an opportunity of doing juſtice with more expedition and preciſion than it was done in the times of the empire. The complaints of the injured, from a poſſeſſion of the means of information, were better underſtood. The Nabobs were leſs reſtricted than formerly, in inflicting neceſſary puniſhments; and, as they were accountable to no ſuperior for the revenue, they had it in their power to remit unjuſt debts and taxes, which could not be borne. The miſeries of Bengal, in ſhort, were reſerved for other times. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, were encouraged; for it was not then the maxim to take the honey, by deſtroying the ſwarm.

of Bengal.

The folly of the prince had no deſtructive effect on the proſperity of the people. The Nabobs, carrying down, through their own independent government, the idea of the mild deſpotiſm of the houſe of Timur, ſeemed to mark out to the people certain lines, which they themſelves did not chuſe either to overleap or deſtroy. Many now in Britain were eye-witneſſes of the truth of this aſſertion. We appeal to the teſtimony of thoſe who marched through Bengal after the death of Surage-ul-Dowla, that, at that time, it was one of the richeſt, moſt populous, and beſt cultivated kingdoms in the world. The great men and merchants were wallowing in wealth and luxury; the inferior tenants and the manufacturers were bleſſed with plenty, content, and eaſe. But the cloud which has ſince obſcured this ſunſhine was near.

Brief recapitulation

When the troubles, which ended by putting Bengal into the hands of the Company, firſt aroſe, Surage-ul-Dowla, a very young and inconſiderate prince, was Nabob of the three provinces. The good fortune which had at firſt forſaken us, returned to our arms; and, by the aſſiſtance, or rather opportune treachery of Jaffier, one of his generals, he was depoſed and murdered. We raiſed the Traitor, as a reward for his convenient treaſon, to a throne ſtill warm with the blood of his lord; and the meaſure ſeemed to be juſtified, by our apparent inability of retaining the conquered province in our own hands.

of its

The fortune of Jaffier, however, did not long withhold her frowns. Though he had treachery enough to ruin his maſter, he was deſtitute of abilities to reign in his place. His weakneſs became an excuſe for a revolution, which had been meditated on other grounds; and Caſſim Ali, Jaffier's ſon-in-law, an intriguing politician, was inveſted with the dignity and power of his father. If Jaffier was weak, Caſſim had too good parts to be permitted to govern Bengal. He was depoſed, and his predeceſſor reinſtated in his place. This farce in politics was adopted as a precedent. A governor, without a revolution in the ſtate of Bengal, could not anſwer to himſelf for idling away his time.

late revolutions.

The civil wars, to which a violent deſire of creating Nabobs gave riſe, were attended with tragical events. The country was depopulated by every ſpecies of public diſtreſs. In the ſpace of ſix years, half the great cities of an opulent kingdom were rendered deſolate; the moſt fertile fields in the world lay waſte; and five millions of harmleſs and induſtrious people were either expelled or deſtroyed. Want of foreſight became more fatal than innate barbariſm; and men found themſelves wading through blood and ruin, when their object was only ſpoil. But this is not the time to rend the veil which covers our political tranſactions in Aſia.

STATE OF BENGAL

UNDER THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Obſervations on the Treaty for the Dewanny.

Reflections.

AN ample field lay open before us; but we have appropriated revolution and war to hiſtory. The preſent diſquiſition is of an inferior kind; an enquiry, which means not to irritate but to reform. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that Bengal ſuffered from diſturbances and violent meaſures; and that Fortune, though unfavourable, was leſs fatal, than the rapacity of avaricious men. Peculiarly unhappy, an unwarlike but induſtrious people, were ſubdued by a ſociety whoſe buſineſs was commerce. A barbarous enemy may ſlay a proſtrate foe; but a civilized conqueror can only ruin nations without the ſword. Monopolies and an excluſive trade joined iſſue with additional taxations; the unfortunate were deprived of the means, whilſt the demands upon them were, with peculiar abſurdity, increaſed.

Obſervations But to wander no farther into declamation: though the miſfortunes of Bengal began with the revolutions and changes which ſucceeded the death of Surage-ul-Dowla, the ſyſtem, which advances ſtill with haſty ſtrides, to the complete ruin of that once opulent province, was eſtabliſhed ſeveral years after that event. A noble governor ſent to command in Bengal, by the Eaſt India Company, arrived in that kingdom in the May of 1765. The expulſion of the Nabob Caſſim Ali, and the reduction of Suja-ul-Dowla, by our arms, had enabled the ſervants of the Company to eſtabliſh peace upon their own terms. The treaty which they concluded was abſurd; and had it been leſs exceptionable, it would not probably have pleaſed a man, who went not to India to be idle.

on the treaty The various revolutions of Fortune, which had ſubjected ſeveral of the richeſt provinces of India to the Company's ſervants, threw the undoubted heir of the Mogul empire into their hands. The governor availed himſelf of this circumſtance. Other Nabobs had converted the unfortunate prince into a tool; and it was now the turn of our governor to do the ſame, for the benefit of his conſtituents. Conſcious of his power over the emperor, and having the abſolute direction of a Nabob, who owed his elevation to the governor, himſelf, and to his own crimes, he threw aſide the former treaty. A perpetual commiſſion for the office of Dewan, or receiver-general of the revenues of Bengal, Behâr, and Oriſſa was obtained, from SHAW ALLUM, for the Company. The office of perpetual Nabob might have been as eaſily obtained; but the former balanced a thouſand diſadvantages, by rendering the nature of the tenure perplexed.

with the emperor

In conſideration of the Imperial mandate, which, with the revenues, conferred the government of Bengal for ever on the Company, Shaw Allum was to receive an annual penſion of three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds. The annuity was moderate to the lineal ſucceſſor of Timur. He was, at the ſame time, guaranteed in the poſſeſſion of the province of Allahabâd; and thus a kind of proviſion was made for a prince, who retained nothing of what belonged to his illuſtrious anceſtors, except the empty title of emperor of Hindoſtan. This treaty, however, though it dazzled with its ſplendor, was neither ſolid nor advantageous in itſelf. The emperor, inſtead of being placed at Allahabâd, ought to poſſeſs the province, out of which his pretended viſier Suja-ul-Dowla, had been recently driven; or ſhould that meaſure be ſuppoſed to inveſt him with dangerous power, the territories of Bulwant Singh, equal in revenue to Allahabâd, might have been conferred upon him. The Company, being then in poſſeſſion of all theſe provinces, might, by its ſervants, have adopted either of theſe ſyſtems.

Shaw Allum,

To the firſt meaſure there are no well-founded objections, and many advantages might be derived from it. The ſum of three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds might have been annually ſaved, which ſum is now ſent to a diſtant province, from whence it never returns. This latter circumſtance is of more real prejudice to Bengal and the affairs of the Company, than if half the revenues of the province had been given to the emperor, upon condition of his keeping his court in that country. Had Shaw Allum been put in poſſeſſion of the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, the natural inactivity of his diſpoſition, and the extraordinary expence and magnificence, which he is, in ſome meaſure, obliged to ſupport, would have prevented him from being ſo dangerous a neighbour as even Suja-ul-Dowla. The whole empire was in a ſtate of rebellion; and we were only from convenience his friends.

for the Dewanny.

Arguments crowd in to ſupport this poſition; but there are ſtill ſtronger reaſons for placing the emperor in the territories of Bulwant Singh. His reſidence, in ſuch a caſe, might have been fixed at Patna or Mongeer;

geer; and our army, inſtead of being cantoned at Allahabâd and Cora, two hundred miles from the frontier of our provinces, might have remained in Patna, in the center of our dominions. Bengal, had this meaſure been adopted, inſtead of loſing the penſion paid to the emperor, and the enormous expence of a brigade in a foreign country, would have been enriched by the greater part of the revenues of the territories of Bulwant Singh; for which he had paid twenty-two lacks of roupees to Suja-ul-Dowla, though in reality he collected double that ſum upon the ſubject.

Its loſs and inconvenience

The latter poſition will appear more obvious from the following ſtate. Bengal, had the meaſure been adopted, would annually have ſaved,

The penſion paid to the emperor,	£. 325,000
The expence of a brigade, - -	187,500
Twenty lacks from the territories of Bulwant Singh ſpent at Patna,	250,000
	762,500

to the Company.

This meaſure alone, we may venture to affirm, would have preſerved Bengal in a flouriſhing condition, in ſpite of avarice and miſmanagement. It would, at the ſame time, have been attended with many ſalutary effects in our political ſyſtem in India. The emperor would have been more immediately under our eye; for though he at preſent labours under an eclipſe, he may, ſome time or other, ſhine forth like a comet, in the hands of an ambitious and able man. We are now obliged to protect and ſupport him, under manifeſt diſadvantages. His territories border on the Mahrattors, Jates, and Rohillas; and he is under a perpetual apprehenſion from theſe nations. Had the meaſure, the advantages of which we have deſcribed, been taken, Suja-ul-Dowla would have come in between him and theſe powers; but, at preſent, our army at Allahabâd becomes a ſecurity to that prince; whoſe apprehenſions would otherwiſe have induced him to adhere more firmly than he now ſhews an inclination, to his treaty with the Company.

State of Commerce in Bengal, under the Company.

Obſervations on the

THE proſperity and opulence which Bengal enjoyed during the government of the houſe of Timur, and even under the revolted viceroys, proceeded from her lucrative commerce, as much as from the fertility of her ſoil. Rich in the induſtry of her inhabitants, ſhe became independent of the partial rapine of impolitic governors, who plundered only to ſquander away. The money, which entered by injuſtice at one door of the treaſury, was carried out at another by luxury. The court of the

Nabob was the heart, which only received the various currents of wealth, to throw it with vigour, through every vein of the kingdom.

preſent commerce of Bengal.

We may date the commencement of decline, from the day on which Bengal fell under the dominion of foreigners; who were more anxious to improve the preſent moment to their own emolument, than, by providing againſt waſte, to ſecure a permanent advantage to the Britiſh nation. With a peculiar want of foreſight, they began to drain the reſervoir, without turning into it any ſtream to prevent it from being exhauſted. From obſervation, we deſcend to facts.

The annual inveſtments of the Company, for which no ſpecie is received, amounts, at an average of ten years, to - - - -	£. 927,500
Thoſe of the Dutch, for which the ſervants of the Company take bills on Europe, for remitting fortunes acquired in Bengal, - - -	200,000
Thoſe of the French, paid for to the natives, in the ſame way, -	350,000
Thoſe of the Portugueſe and Danes, -	100,000
	£. 1,577,500

	£. 1,577,500
Bengal, it ſhall hereafter appear, to replace all this waſte, ſcarce annually receives in bullion, - -	100,000
She loſes, therefore, yearly, to Europe,	£. 1,477,500

Cauſe of its decline

The above eſtimate of the exports of Bengal, for which ſhe receives no ſpecie, is formed on the prime coſt of her manufactures. The balance againſt her comprehends the ſavings of the Company on the revenue, the value of Britiſh exports, the private fortunes of individuals, which center in this kingdom. This ruinous commerce with Europe is not balanced, by a lucrative intercourſe with the various ſtates of Aſia. The increaſe of the demand for the manufactures of Bengal, for our markets here, and the revolutions which ſhook and greatly depopulated that kingdom, have raiſed the price of goods. The demand would, upon this head, ſink in proportion in the Eaſt; but beſides, the internal ſtate of the various countries, which formerly exchanged bullion for the goods of Bengal, has been long unfavourable to foreign commerce.

with Perſia, Egypt,

Perſia, about thirty years ago a great and a flouriſhing empire, has been torn to pieces, and almoſt depopulated by the cruelties of Nadir Shaw; and, ſince his aſſaſſination, by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants, who eſcaped the rage of the ſword, ſit down in the midſt of poverty. Georgia and Armenia, who ſhared in the troubles of Perſia, ſhare alſo her untoward fate. Indigence has ſhut up the doors of commerce; vanity has diſappeared with wealth, and men content themſelves with the coarſe manufactures of their native countries. The Turkiſh empire has long declined on its ſouthern and eaſtern frontiers. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Baſha, revolted. The diſtracted ſtate of the former has almoſt ſhut up the trade, by caravans, from Suez to Cairo; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by ſea to all the ports of the Ottoman dominions.

Syria, Babylonia.

The rapacity of the Baſha of Bagdat, which is encreaſed by the neceſſity of keeping a great ſtanding force to ſupport his uſurpation, has environed with terror the walls of Buſſora, which circumſtance has almoſt annihilated its commerce with Syria. Scarce a caravan paſſes from the gulph of Perſia to Aleppo once in two years; and when it does, it is but poor and ſmall. Formerly, in every ſeaſon, ſeveral rich and numerous caravans croſſed the deſart to Syria; but the few that venture at preſent, being too weak to protect themſelves againſt the wandering Arabs, are ſtopt by every tribe, and are obliged to purchaſe ſafety with exorbitant duties. Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Buſſora are ruined; and there were, laſt year, in the warehouſes of that city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds, which could not be ſold for half the prime coſt.

the reſt of Hindoſtan,

The number of independent kingdoms, which have ſtarted up from the ruins of the Mogul empire, has almoſt deſtroyed the inland commerce of Bengal with the upper parts of Hindoſtan. Every prince levies heavy duties upon all goods that paſs through his dominions. The merchants, who formerly came down toward the mouths of the Ganges to purchaſe commodities, have diſcontinued a trade, not only ruined by impoſts, but even unſafe from banditti. The province of Oud and Aſſâm are the only inland countries with which Bengal drives, at preſent, any trade. The former has greatly the balance in its favour againſt us of late years, from the money expended by ſeven thouſand of our own troops, which till of late have been ſtationed in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, in conſequence of an impolitic treaty, and to anſwer private views. The commerce of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, with Aſſâm, is almoſt balanced by the quantity of ſilk, Mugadutties and lack, which we receive from that kingdom in return.

The trade of Bengal, with the kingdoms and iſlands of the eaſtern Aſia, ſtill continues in ſome degree; but it has been long on the decline. The coaſting trade with the maritime provinces of Hindoſtan has, upon various accounts, decayed. We may venture to affirm, upon the whole, that the balance in favour of Bengal, from all its Aſiatic commerce, exceeds not annually one hundred thouſand pounds. The council of Calcutta have calculated it at leſs than half that ſum. They eſtimated, in the year 1768, the importation of bullion into Bengal, for the ſpace of four years, at fifteen lacks of roupees; which amounts annually to forty-ſix thouſand pounds of our money. But the cauſe of this decay lies more in negligence, than in the preſent ſtate of the maritime regions and iſlands beyond the eaſtern mouth of the Ganges.

and the regions of eaſtern Aſia.

To draw a concluſion from the obſervations made: Though Bengal, by her induſtry, yields to Europe, of manufactures, to the annual amount of one million five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds, for which ſhe receives nothing; yet, if

Eſtimate of the loſs

if the balance of her trade with Aſia amounts to one hundred thouſand pounds, ſhe may ſtill continue to flouriſh under a proper ſyſtem of internal regulation. The paradox is hitherto ſupportable by argument and proof; but there ſtill remain heavy articles to be brought into the account againſt Bengal. Some of the articles, from their complicated nature, muſt be ſtated from opinion: Others reſt on incontrovertible facts. The eſtimate of the firſt ſhall be made as low as poſſible: The latter are eſtabliſhed beyond the power of cavil itſelf.

of ſpecie to Bengal.

	£.
The ſpecie carried from Bengal by the expelled Nabob, Caſſim Ali, is ſuppoſed to amount to - - -	1,250,000
Specie carried away by men of property, who have deſerted the kingdom ſince the power of the company prevailed,	2,500,000
The expences of the war, for one whole year, in the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, at five lacks per month; which, after deducting fifty lacks, paid by treaty by that prince, amounts to	125,000
Carry over	3,875,000

Specie

Brought over	£. 3,875,000
Specie ſent from Bengal to pay a brigade, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand men, ſtationed for five years, after the peace, at Allahabâd, at the annual expence of fifteen lacks - - -	937,500
Specie ſent from that kingdom to China and Madraſs, including the expences of troops on the coaſt, detached from the eſtabliſhment of Bengal -	1,500,000
Specie brought to England - -	100,000
Exported of ſpecie - - -	6,412,500
Deduct the imports of bullion for twelve years, at the annual ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds - -	1,200,000
Decreaſe in the ſpecie of Bengal ſince the acceſſion of the company to the dominion of that kingdom - -	5,212,500

Her preſent compared

This ruinous ſtate of the commerce of Bengal is, by no means, exaggerated. To deprive every adverſary of argument, the calculations are, by the Author of the Enquiry, purpoſely rendered extremely low. A comparative view of the former ſituation of that once opulent kingdom with its preſent condition, will throw additional light on the ſubject. In the days of the empire, the balance of trade for which Bengal received

bullion, has been eſtimated at	£. 1,687,500
Deduct the annual revenue ſent in ſpecie to Delhi - - -	1,250,000
Yearly acquiſition in money - -	437,500

with her ancient commerce.

The kingdom of Bengal, it appears, has not, in the midſt of her misfortunes, fallen off greatly from her former exports of manufactures. She ſtill ſends to Europe, within one hundred and ten thouſand pounds a-year of the quantity, for which ſhe received the above balance of bullion, in the days of her proſperity. This, had not her ſpecie been exported, would not have impoveriſhed her. But let us ſuppoſe that her whole currency amounted to fifteen millions; the entire loſs of a third part of that ſum muſt have inevitably diſtreſſed her; and an annual decreaſe of near half a million muſt, if not prevented, in a few years, totally ruin the little commerce that ſtill remains. The proſpect is gloomy. The taxes muſt be leſſened, and the ruin, which we have brought on an unfortunate country, will recoil upon ourſelves.

Reflections on the

To illuſtrate the argument by compariſon. Were the paper-currency of Great Britain totally ſuppreſſed, and her gold and ſilver currency, which is eſtimated at ſeven millions, left for the purpoſes of trade and taxation, it is evident, that ruinous conſequences muſt enſue; but none will pretend to affirm, that the nation, by ſuch a meaſure, would become one farthing poorer than before. Trade, however, from the want of a ſufficient quantity of the ſigns of wealth and property, would be cramped in all its veins. The intereſt of money, in ſpite of laws, would riſe to an enormous pitch. The ſame want of currency would, at the ſame time, become ſuch a check upon luxury, that the price of labour, and eſpecially of proviſions, would fall, unleſs the latter were kept up by rigorouſly inforcing the preſent taxes without abatement. The price of proviſions, in that caſe, would riſe every day, and the poor would daily become leſs able to purchaſe. The people would, in a very few years, be ſtript of all their property, and national beggary would be followed by national ruin.

ruinous ſtate of Bengal.

Bengal, from the decreaſe of her ſpecie, feels, in fact, the miſeries which we have in ſpeculation juſt deſcribed. Were not her taxes inforced by oppreſſion, proviſions would fall in proportion to the decreaſe of wealth; ſuppoſing the number of inhabitants and ſtate of cultivation to continue the ſame. But the reverſe happens, from our endeavouring to keep up the revenues to their former pitch. The farmer cannot ſell his grain without a price, which bears a proportion to the rents which he is obliged to pay, whilſt his cultivation decreaſes for want of a ſufficient ſtock. The conſumer, at the ſame time, muſt have food. If he is a manufacturer or labourer, he muſt raiſe his goods or his wages to anſwer the price of bread. The evils of a forced ſtate of ſociety encreaſe. Famine, with all its horrors, enſues, and, by ſweeping away ſome millions of wretched people, gives, to the unhappy ſurvivors, the reſpite of a few years.

Obſervations on Monopolies.

Reflections

THE Monopolies eſtabliſhed by the ſervants of the Company in Bengal, furniſh an ample field for animadverſion. But other writers have already occupied that province. The brevity which the Author of the Enquiry has preſcribed to his work, induces him to paſs lightly over ground that has been trodden before. It is ſuperfluous to inſiſt upon the prejudice which Monopoly has done to the natural rights of the natives, and to the privileges which they poſſeſſed, by preſcription, from Deſpotiſm itſelf. This part of the ſubject has been handled with ability by others: we ſhall ſlightly touch upon what has eſcaped their obſervation.

on the ruinous

Salt, in almoſt every country, is one of the neceſſaries of life. In Bengal, which ſtill contains near fifteen millions of people, the conſumption of this article muſt be very great; for, beſides what they themſelves conſume, they mix great quantities with the food of their cattle. Salt is produced by filtrating the earth near the mouths of the Ganges, and by then boiling the water which is impregnated with ſaline particles. The proceſs is ſimple and cheap, where wood for fuel coſts nothing. The low price at which ſalt could be conveyed through all the branches of the Ganges, rendered it an advantageous article of trade with the inland ports of Hindoſtan. Great quantities were ſent to Benâris and Mirzapour, from the markets of which, the provinces of Oud and Allahabâd, the territories of the Raja of Bundela, and of all the petty princes of the kingdom of Malava, were ſupplied. This trade, by a ſociety of Monopoliſts in Calcutta, was ſeized in the year 1765. Avarice got the better of prudence; and a rage for preſent gain cut off all future proſpects. The article of ſalt was raiſed two hundred *per cent.*; and the foreign purchaſers, finding that they could be ſupplied at a much cheaper rate with rock-ſalt from the dominions of the Rohillas near Delhi, this valuable commerce at once was loſt.

Monopolies in Bengal.

Beetle-nut and Tobacco have, by the ſtrength of habit, become almoſt neceſſaries of life in Hindoſtan. The firſt is produced in many parts of the Decan; and the latter is cultivated over all the empire. There was, however, a conſiderable exportation from Bengal in theſe articles; and it, unfortunately for that country, attracted the notice of the Monopoliſts. But, as if Monopolies were not ſufficient to deſtroy the inland commerce of Bengal, with the reſt of Hindoſtan, an edict was iſſued, in the year 1768, prohibiting all the ſervants of the Company, the free merchants, Armenians, Portugueſe, and all foreigners whatſoever, from carrying goods beyond the limits of our province, under the pain of confiſcation, and the ſevereſt puniſhments inflicted on their agents.

The Directors vindicated.

The Court of Directors, it is but juſtice to declare, have invariably oppoſed the above-recited deſtructive monopolies. But the commands of fugitive and tranſient maſters are weak in oppoſition to intereſt. The fluctuations in Leadenhall-ſtreet, deprived the mandates which iſſued from it of all their authority; and the preſidency abroad frequently received orders, from their conſtituents at home, with the ſame inattention that the Nizâm of Golconda would pay to the Firmân of the unfortunate Shaw Allum. The Directors, in ſhort, are only to blame in an acquieſcence to a diſobedience to the orders of their predeceſſors in office. Carrying frequently the animoſity of prior contention into their meaſures, they forgot the attention due to their own power, in the pleaſure of ſeeing a ſlur thrown on that of their opponents. They are alſo blameable for the ſuſpicious veil of ſecrecy with which they affect to cover their affairs. The door of information is, in ſome meaſure, ſhut up; the inferior ſervants are precluded, by an ill-founded fear, from laying open to them the ſtate of Government abroad, and it was perhaps the intereſt of their ſuperior ſervants to conceal a part of the truth. Subſtantial darkneſs has by theſe means ſettled on objects, which, it is even the intereſt of the Company, as well as of the nation, ſhould be known to the world.

Mode of collecting the Revenues.

Fugitive

THE princes, whom we raiſed in Bengal, vaniſhed imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unſubſtantial as the ſhew of power with which, as in deriſion, we inveſted them, they diſappeared, like Romulus, but without a ſtorm. The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, if not our friend, was opportune in his frequent viſits to the Muſnud. In the courſe of five years, three Nabobs expired; and the unfledged ſovereign, who acceded to the nominal government of Bengal on the March of 1770, has enjoyed already, conſidering the times, a long reign. Nabobs, to own the truth, are uſeleſs; and they are diſmiſſed to their fathers, without either ceremony or noiſe.

Nabobs.

In the year 1765, upon the demiſe of Jaffier, whom we had, for the firſt time, raiſed in 1757 to the government for his convenient treachery to his maſter, Nijim-ul-Dowla, his ſon by a common proſtitute, was, in the eighteenth year of his age, placed upon the throne, in the capital of Murſhedabâd. Soon after the acceſſion of this prince, a noble governor, on the part of the Company, arrived at Calcutta, and executed the treaty which has furniſhed materials for a preceding ſection. Mahommed Riza, a man of leſs integrity than abilities, was made prime miniſter; activity being a virtue more neceſſary to the intention of his creation than honeſty. The wretched Nijim-ul-Dowla was a mere name; a figure of ſtate more deſpicable, if poſſible, than the meanneſs of his family and parts. The whole executive government turned upon Mahommed Riza. A reſident was ſent from Calcutta to check the accounts of the nominal government; as if one man, who knew very little of the language, manners, and opinions of the people, could prevent the frauds of an artful miniſter, and ten thouſand of his dependents, verſed in the management of finance. The conſequence might be foreſeen with little penetration. Unable, and perhaps unwilling to oppoſe the current, the reſident fell down with the ſtream, and became ſo far a check upon Mahommed, that he appropriated to himſelf a part of what the miniſter might otherwiſe have thrown into his own treaſure.

Mahommed Riza Chan.

Mahommed Riza, as a ſmall ſalary of office, received annually one hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred pounds, with three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds a-year to be diſtributed in penſions among his friends. The miniſter, with his other good qualities, had no local attachment to friends. They were of various complexions and religions; fair-faced Europeans, as well as ſwarthy Indians; and, though profeſſing Mahommedaniſm himſelf, he was ſo far from being an enemy to the uncircumciſed, that it is ſaid the moſt of his penſions and gratuities were beſtowed on good Chriſtians born in Great Britain and Ireland. Mahommed, however, did not take up his whole time with acts of benevolence to our nation. He applied himſelf to buſineſs; and he was more rigid in executing the government which the revolted Nabobs had eſtabliſhed in Bengal, than fond of introducing innovations more favourable to the proſperity of the country.

Impolitic

The Nabobs of Bengal, it has been already obſerved, began the ruinous policy of farming out the lands annually; leaving the wretched tenants to the oppreſſion and tyranny of temporary Zemindars. At the commencement of every year, there is a general congreſs of all the great farmers, at the capital of Bengal; which meeting is, in the language of the country, called Punea. The object of the congreſs is to ſettle the accounts of the former year, and to give the lands for another, to the higheſt bidder. The competition between the farmers is favourable to the private intereſt of Mahommed Riza, and his friend the reſident; but it is deſtructive to the poor, and conſequently to the Company's affairs.

and cruel

The charge of travelling, from the more diſtant diviſions of the province, and the expence of living in the capital, are but a very inconſiderable part of the loſs of the farmers in this viſit to court. Pretences are never wanting to intimidate them, on account of their paſt conduct; and where no competitors offer of themſelves, ſome are created by the miniſter, to raiſe anxiety and terror. Preſents are an infallible remedy for quaſhing all enquiries into former oppreſſions; and a bribe ſecures to them the power of exerciſing, for another year, their tyrannies over the unhappy tenants. It would be endleſs to trace the intrigues of the farmers upon this occaſion: it would be difficult to expoſe all the artful villany of the miniſter. The Zemindars, however wealthy they may be, feign ſuch poverty, as not to be able to make up the balances of the preceding year. They have even been known to carry the farce ſo far, as to ſuffer a ſevere whipping before they would produce their money.

mode of

The avarice of Mahommed Riza is the cauſe of this unmanly behaviour in the wretched farmers. When they ſeem rich, the impoſt is raiſed; and the bribe muſt in proportion be greater. Their love of money is often more powerful than the fear of bodily pain. When they have long groaned under the laſh, ſome banker or money-broker appears, who, for the exorbitant intereſt of ten per cent. per month, diſcharges the debt. The farmer, by ſuch means as theſe, often deceives the vigilance of the miniſter and reſident, and obtains his lands for another year, becauſe no one elſe will offer a ſum which the poſſeſſor finds ſo much difficulty to pay. A friend, in the ſecret, gives ſecurity for the rents;

and a preſent, thrown into the hands of the miniſter, ſuſpends, for the time, the diſcipline of the whip.

collecting the revenue.

In the year 1767, the Author of the Enquiry, who reſided, at the time, in Bengal, had the curioſity to calculate the expence of the Bundubuſt, or yearly ſettlement. He formed his eſtimate from the accounts of various Zemindars, and he avers, without exaggeration, that the expences amounted to twenty-ſeven and one-half per cent. of the rents of their lands; which may amount to a million ſterling. Theſe trivial perquiſites were ſhared between Mahommed Riza, his friends, and the bankers of Murſhedabâd. The place of the Company's reſident at the Durbâr, or the court of the Nabob, was HONESTLY worth one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a-year.

The bad

Theſe embezzlements and fraudulent practices were not, however, ſo detrimental to the Company's affairs, from the actual decreaſe in the revenues, as from the general depravity of manners, and the oppreſſions which they introduced. When the ſources of government are corrupted, they poiſon the whole ſtream. Every petty officer in the ſtate, every clerk of the revenues, aſſumed the tyrant in his own department. Juſtice was totally ſuſpended; and the fear of being plundered by a ſuperior,

rior, was the only check that remained againſt the commiſſion of the moſt atrocious crimes. Every inſtance of abſtaining from the moſt cruel oppreſſions, proceeded from indolence: every act of tyranny from the love of money. The diſtemper of avarice, in the extreme, ſeemed to infect all, whom the wrath of God againſt a devoted people, had placed in power.

The conſequences of this mode of letting the lands of Bengal, were ſuch as might, with little foreſight, have been expected; had not ſtronger impreſſions, than thoſe of reaſon been neceſſary to convince men of a profitable error. Nothing in the conquered provinces was premeditated but rapine. Every thing, but plunder, was left to chance and neceſſity, who impoſe their own laws. The farmers, having no certainty of holding the lands beyond the year, made no improvements. Their profit muſt be immediate, to ſatisfy the hand of Avarice, which was ſuſpended over their heads. Impreſſed with the uncertainty of their ſituation, they raiſed the rents, to the laſt farthing, on the wretched tenants; who, unwilling to forſake their ancient habitations and houſehold gods, ſubmitted to impoſitions which they could not pay. They looked up to Heaven in their diſtreſs; but no redreſs remained for the wretched.

conſequences

of that mode.

Year after year brought new tyrants, or confirmed the old, in the practice of their former oppreſſions. The tenants being, at length, ruined, the farmers were unable to make good their contracts with government. Their cruelty to their inferiors recoiled, at length, on themſelves. Many of them were bound to ſtakes and whipped; but their poverty ceaſed to be feigned. Their complaints were heard in every ſquare of Murſhedabâd; and not a few of them expired in agonies, under the laſh. Many of the inferior tenants, reduced to deſpair, fled the country, hoping to derive from other deſpotiſms, that lenity, which our indolence, to ſpeak the beſt of ourſelves, denied. Thoſe that remained were deprived of the ſmall ſtock neceſſary for cultivation; and a great part of the lands lay waſte. Every governor thought it incumbent upon him to keep up the revenues to their former pitch; but, in ſpite of the permitted cruelty of Mahommed Riza, they continued, every year, to decreaſe. It could not have happened otherwiſe; unleſs Heaven had wrought miracles as a reward for our VIRTUES.

Wretched ſtate of the country.

In proportion as an unfortunate people became leſs able to bear the eſtabliſhed taxation, the modes of collecting it became more oppreſſive. Seven entire battalions were added to our military eſtabliſhment to enforce inforce the collections. They carried terror and ruin through the country; but poverty was more prevalent than obſtinacy every where. This new force became an enormous expence to the Company; and the unnatural preſſure on the people raiſed the price of proviſions. The manufacturers, to be able to purchaſe bread, ſhewed an inclination to raiſe the price of their goods. It was ſoon perceived that, ſhould this be permitted, the manufactures of Bengal would not anſwer in Europe, ſo as even to indemnify the Company for prime coſt, for duties and other expences, excluſive of the profit which a commercial body had a right to expect. The prices muſt be kept down; but this could not be done without violence. Proviſions became daily dearer; and the demand for goods encreaſed.

from the officers

The officers chiefly employed in the management of the revenues, being needy adventurers from Perſia and the upper India, carried avarice, as well as the arbitrary ideas of their own diſtracted governments, into their departments. Solicitous to obtain an immediate advantage to themſelves, they forgot the intereſt of their employers; and practiſed every ſpecies of rapine and violence on the timid inhabitants of Bengal. The wealth, which, in the ſpace of a few years, they accumulated, enabled them to return into their native

countries;

countries; and thus they furniſhed another cauſe of the decline of ſpecie in the kingdom. Theſe foreign collectors maintained a numerous train of needy dependents, who, under the protection of their tyrannical maſters, aſſumed the privilege of rapine and peculation. Venality ceaſed to be a crime; and dexterity in the art of impoſition, was deemed a recommendation to the firſt offices of truſt.

of government.

Mahommed Riza made it his invariable policy to keep the ſervants of the Company in ignorance of the true ſtate of affairs; and when any deception was practiſed, another was formed to conceal it from view. He entered into a colluſion with many of the farmers. Occaſional accounts were framed; and the uſual accounts were ſtudiouſly involved in inextricable confuſion. Men, averſe to trouble, throw them aſide; and neglect their duty in their indolence. The ſervants of Mohommed Riza not only eſcape cenſure, but retain their places; and thus iniquity furniſhes to itſelf a new field, for a repetition of its execrable talents.

Extortions

To inveſtigate the various demands and extortions of the Aumins, or the protectors of the people, who, inſtead of defending, pillage their charge, would be endleſs. Theſe, by a colluſion with the Zemindars, prey with them on the unfortunate tenants. The Gomâſtas, or agents, Dellols, Pikes, Pikars, Burkândaz, and other vermin, employed in the collection and inveſtment, eſtabliſh a thouſand modes of oppreſſion and extortion. An ignorant and unhappy people ſee theſe officers of government through the medium of fear; and comply, in melancholy ſilence, with their exorbitant demands. No collector, not even his principal ſervant, travels over any part of his diſtrict, without impoſing upon the village in which he chuſes to reſt, a tax of rice, fowl, kid, fruits, and every other luxury of the table, for himſelf and his dependents. He alſo levies fines, at pleaſure, for frivolous offences, and under various, and often falſe pretexts. The crime conſiſts, in the ability of the perſon to pay the fine; and nothing but exceſs of miſery and poverty is ſafe from the griping hand of Avarice.

The Zemindars, or principal farmers, copy the officers of government, in tyranny. The Riôts, or wretched tenants, are forced to give their labour gratuitouſly, to this tranſitory lord of a year, whenever he chuſes to employ their toil in his fields, when their own farms lie waſte for want of cultivation. There is not one article of conſumption with which the poor tenants are not obliged to ſupply the general farmer.

of the collectors.

The quantity brought is frequently more than his conſumpt demands; and, in theſe caſes, they are forced, under the inſpection of his ſervants, to carry their own property to market, and to diſpoſe of it for the uſe of their lord. They even frequently raiſe or fall the exchange upon the roupees, againſt the wretched huſbandmen; and, without even the ſtrength of cuſtom, they exact, from the lower ſort, fees upon births, marriages, and contracts. There is ſcarce an occurrence upon which they have not invented arbitrary impoſts.

Negligence of the Company,

The Company, having never examined into the real tenures by which many poſſeſs their lands, left an ample field for ſequeſtration, fraud, and encroachment. The Talookdârs, or the favourites and dependents of former Nabobs, hold, by grants from their patrons, extenſive tracts of land. Some of theſe grants convey a kind of freehold; others, eſtates at a very low rent, poſſeſſing, beſides, particular exemptions and extraordinary immunities. Theſe alienations were never valid, in the days of the empire, without being renewed by every viceroy; and no good reaſon remains, why they ſhould now exiſt, as the illegal means of oppreſſion, in the hands of petty tyrants. They have even added encroachment upon the adjacent lands, to the injuſtice by which they poſſeſs their own; and they have preſumed to lay tolls on ſerries, ferries, and impoſts upon markets, even beyond the limits of their imperfect grants. This encroachment on the rights of the Company is, however, a kind of benefit to the people. The poſſeſſor of the grant, conſiders the lands which it deſcribes, as his own property; and he is, from a natural ſelfiſhneſs, more a friend to his inferiors than the fugitive Zemindar of a year.

in examining into

To render clear affairs hitherto little underſtood, we muſt deſcend into more particulars. The frauds and oppreſſions committed in Bengal, in the collection of the revenue, are as various as they are without number. The interior policy ſubſiſting in that kingdom, will throw new light on the ſubject. Some of the lands in Bengal go under the deſignation of Comâr, having no native tenants, being cultivated by vagrant huſbandmen, who wander from place to place in queſt of labour. A farmer takes frequently large tracts of theſe lands upon contract. He obliges himſelf to be anſwerable to government for the produce; but he keeps the accounts himſelf. The vagrant huſbandmen whom he employs, having neither implements of agriculture nor ſtock, are, from time to time, ſupplied with ſmall ſums by the farmer, and, when the harveſt is gathered in, he appropriates to himſelf two thirds of the crop; after paying himſelf from the remainder, for the intereſt of the ſums advanced to the vagrants. The accounts delivered in to government contain every thing but the truth; and this mode, from our indolence, becoming moſt profitable to the Zemindar, he wiſhes to depopulate the country, in ſome meaſure, for his own gain.

various

The lands, which are under the immediate management of government, are, in the language of the country, called Coſs. They differ from the Comâr in various particulars. Stewards are appointed to ſuperintend them, without the power of making new contracts with the tenants, or of raiſing upon them the rents, being accountable only for the rents of the lands, as they ſtand upon the rolls of the diſtrict. Theſe rolls, however, are in general falſe and defective. Some lands, to ſerve particular friends, are greatly under-rated; and others are entirely concealed by the addreſs of the ſtewards. To grant certain immunities to the ſtewards themſelves, was formerly much in practice. They were permitted to poſſeſs, for their ſubſiſtence, gardens, paſtures, ponds for fiſh, and fields for rice. Theſe privileges have been greatly enlarged ſince Bengal fell under the Company; and the ſtewards have fixed no decent bounds to their encroachments.

fictitious tenures.

The lands diſtinguiſhed by the name of Riotty, are poſſeſſed and cultivated by the native inhabitants under Zemindars, or farmers, who contract for them with government for an annual ſum. The rents are partly levied,

vied on a meaſurement, and partly on the various productions which are ſent to market, and converted into money by the farmer. The ruinous effects of this mode of collecting the revenue have been already explained. There are, beſides, great quantities of waſte lands, which are of two kinds; lands ſtruck off the public books, at a former period, which are now cultivated, but not brought to account; and ſuch as are really waſte, which comprehend at leaſt one fourth part of Bengal. Of the former there are many large fertile tracts, well cultivated, which have been appropriated by Zemindars and their dependents; and they find means, in their accounts, with an indolent government, to avoid all ſcrutiny into their uſurpations.

and encroachments

To add to the miſmanagement, lands are ſet apart for almoſt every officer under the government; a mode of ſalary which makes no appearance upon the annual accounts, but which, notwithſtanding, amounts to more than all the apparent charges of collection. Great hurt ariſes to the revenues from this practice, and the abuſe ſubſiſts without reformation. The lands of all the officers ought inſtantly to be reſumed, and their ſalaries to be paid out of the exchequer. Many of the collectors have alſo impoſed partial duties upon the ſubject; and thus have added oppreſſion and injuſtice to the people, to their uſurpations upon government.

Perverſion of juſtice.

Juſtice is ſuffered to be greatly perverted by the officers above ſpecified, and others, who, from their inherent art or abilities, ſubſtitute their own deciſions where government have eſtabliſhed no legal judges. The cuſtom of impoſing mulcts and fines in all caſes, is an intolerable grievance to a wretched people. The rich ſuffer, by having money to give; the poor, by being deprived of reſtitution, becauſe they have none. Every Mahommedan, who can mutter over the Coran, raiſes himſelf to a judge, without either licence or appointment; and every Brahmin, at the head of a tribe, diſtributes juſtice according to his own fancy, without controul. The latter threatens the ignorant with the dreadful puniſhment of excommunication; and thus his own moderation becomes the meaſure of the ſums which he receives from an unfortunate race of men.

Salutary regulations made in 1770.

Such, in the year 1767, was the true ſtate of Bengal: but, it is to be hoped, that the regulations of 1770 have reformed many abuſes. A plan was in that year digeſted, and begun to be carried into execution by men who could not be ſtrangers to any one of the above particulars; though, from their ſtrict adherence to the regulations of a noble governor, to which they were tied down by expreſs orders from the Court of Directors, the abuſes were permitted to exiſt till the country was beggared and depopulated. The effect

which

which the plan may have, cannot yet be eſtimated with preciſion. Were we, however, to judge from the improvements in Burdwan, which has been under the management of a very able ſervant for ſome years paſt, and has greatly encreaſed in revenue and population, the new regulations will be attended with very conſiderable advantages to the Company. But even Burdwân owed part of its proſperity to the miſery and diſtreſs of the ſurrounding diſtricts. The plan adopted will be far from effectuating the reformation and encreaſe of the revenue which are now required; for the balance of the revenue could, in the year 1770, hardly diſcharge the four hundred thouſand pounds paid annually to government. If our information is juſt, what mighty advantages have the Company derived from their great acquiſitions in Bengal?

Idea of the preſent Government of Bengal.

Total ſuſpenſion of all juſtice.

THE total ſuſpenſion of all juſtice, among the natives of Bengal, was another cauſe of national decay. Men who retained ſome property in ſpite of the violence of the times, inſtead of being protected by Britiſh laws, found that they had not even the juſtice of a deſpot to depend upon when they were wronged. The officers of the Nabob, AS THEY WERE CALLED, committed every ſpecies of violence, under the pretence of the orders of the Company. When any perſon complained to the governor and council, he was referred back to thoſe very men of whom he had complained. The heavy crime of having appealed to Britiſh juſtice was thrown in his face, by oppreſſors who were at once judges and party; and ruin and corporal puniſhment were added to his other wrongs. The ſpirit which aſſerts the natural rights of mankind, was called inſolence, till it was totally broken by oppreſſion; and men were even cautious in venting their complaints in ſecret, fearing that the very walls of their moſt private apartments had ears.

Apology for the Company's governors.

These grievances, however, proceeded not from the inhumanity of the Britiſh governors in Bengal. The Author of the Enquiry can aver, from perſonal knowledge, that the ſucceſſors of a certain noble lord were men of probity and honour, enemies to oppreſſion and cruelty of every kind. But the whole weight of ſuch a monſtrous and heterogeneous chaos of government, conſiſting of military, political, commercial and judicial affairs, falling upon the ſhoulders of men unexperienced in the regulation and management of the great machine of ſtate, it was impoſſible for them to give the neceſſary attention to all departments. The multiplicity of affairs overwhelmed them with its weight; and the kingdom ſuffered more from a total want of ſyſtem, than from any premeditated deſign.

Every thing left to the ſummary deciſions of Mahommed Riza.

The courts of juſtice, which the wiſdom of the houſe of Timur had eſtabliſhed in the cities, and various diviſions of the provinces, were either annihilated, or they loſt their power under the ſummary deſpotiſm of the revolted Nabobs. Mahommed Riza, as the acting miniſter, had the whole executive power in his hands; and thoſe who retained the name of judges were only the executioners of his partial and violent deciſions. The Company's governor could not, in the nature of things, enter into the cauſe of every individual, in a very populous kingdom. When he conſulted his own eaſe, he yielded to a kind of neceſſity; and he had to his own conſcience the plauſible excuſe of having remanded the complaints to the judgment of a man who was perfectly acquainted with the manners, cuſtoms and prejudices of the natives.

Impolitic and ruinous

But even friendſhip itſelf will not permit the Writer of the Enquiry to juſtify the political conduct of any of thoſe men who poſſeſſed the ſupreme power in Bengal. Many regulations, obvious in themſelves, might have been formed; many pernicious practices be aboliſhed,

liſhed, which have been continued either through negligence or motives of another kind. Among the latter, ought to be numbered the cuſtom of ſtriking roupees every year, and iſſuing them out at five per centum above the real weight and ſtandard. To explain the ſubject, a dry diſſertation muſt be introduced. The new-coined roupees are iſſued from the mint at ſixteen per centum more than the current roupee; a coin merely imaginary, for the convenience of reducing all money to a certain denomination. The Sicca roupee, as the coin is called, continues to circulate, at the above value, till towards the latter end of the firſt year. The dealers in money, as the roupee loſes three per centum of its value at the beginning of the ſecond year, refuſe to receive it in payment, without a deduction of one or two per centum as it advances to that period.

conduct of

In the beginning of the ſecond year, the roupee, by this moſt prepoſterous of all regulations, has loſt three per centum of its imaginary value. In this manner it continues gradually to fall, till the third year after coinage; and, from that time forward it remains at eleven per centum, the intrinſic value of the ſilver. The poſſeſſor of the roupee may then, upon the payment of three per centum to the mint, have the ſame re-coined into a new Sicca of the imaginary value of ſixteen per centum.

This gain of two per centum is intended as an inducement to bring in the ſilver, that the government may have an opportunity, every year, of robbing the public of three per centum upon the greater part of their current ſpecie. To ſupport this moſt iniquitous ſyſtem, the revenues are directed to be paid in the new Sicca roupees, otherwiſe the money-changer will make ſuch deductions, as muſt occaſion a very conſiderable loſs to the unfortunate people. This evil is attended by another. The courſe of exchange in the markets varies toward the worſt, from this cruel regulation by government, from combinations among the bankers, and the demand for particular roupees to diſcharge the revenue.

the mint.

This mode of levying an annual tax on the ſilver currency, is not of the invention of the Britiſh governors of Bengal. The regulation derived its firſt exiſtence from the well-known bankers, the Jaggat Seats of Murſhedabâd, in the ſhort reign of the inconſiderate Surage-ul-Dowla. The error lies in its being adopted. But we drop this part of the ſubject, and return to the preſent ſtate of government. To do juſtice to the Court of Directors, their repeated orders have checked the violence and rapine of the nominal government of the Nabob. Some of the Company's ſervants ſuperintend, in various diviſions of the country, the collection of the revenue. The penſion, and emoluments of Mahommed Riza have been leſſened with his power. The kingdom, in point of civil regulation, if civil regulation can exiſt without regular courts of juſtice, is on a better footing than before. But much remains to be done! The diſtreſſes of an unfortunate people continue to increaſe, through cauſes which muſt be explained.

General Obſervations.

Concluſions

THE idea of the preſent ſtate and government of Bengal conveyed, in the preceding ſections, juſtifies the following concluſion, That the Company, in the management of that great kingdom, have hitherto miſtaken their own intereſt. To increaſe the revenues was the point to which their ſervants invariably directed their attention; but the means employed defeated their views, and became ruinous to a people whom their arms had ſubdued. Though they exported the ſpecie, though they checked commerce by monopoly, they heaped oppreſſion upon additional taxes, as if rigour were neceſſary to power.

deduced

Much penetration was not neceſſary to diſcover, that it was not by the revenues of Bengal alone that either the Britiſh nation or the Company were to be enriched. A country deſtitute of mines, deprived of foreign commerce, muſt, however opulent from better times, in the end be exhauſted. The tranſitory acquiſition, upon the opinion that all the ſpecie of Bengal had centered in Great Britain, would have no deſirable effect. The fugitive wealth would glide through our hands; and we would have only our folly to regret, when the ſources would happen to become dry. Bengal, without ruin to itſelf, could ſpare none of its ſpecie; and the objects to which our aim ſhould have been directed, are as obvious as they are ſalutary. We ought to have encouraged agriculture, the trade with the reſt of Aſia, and internal manufacture.

from the

Agriculture conſtitutes the wealth of every ſtate, not merely commercial. Bengal, a kingdom ſix hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, is compoſed of one vaſt plain of the moſt fertile ſoil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of induſtrious people, capable of producing proviſions for double the number, as appears from the deſarts which oppreſſion has made; it ſeems marked out, by the hand of Nature, as the moſt advantageous region of the earth for agriculture. Where taxes are moderate, where ſecurity of property is joined to a rich ſoil, cultivation will encreaſe, the neceſſaries of life will become cheap, as well as the groſs materials which manufacturers require. Manufactures, by theſe means, would not only fall in their price, but they would be produced in a greater quantity; larger inveſtments might be made by the Company, the conſumption would encreaſe, and the profits riſe. Bengal can, in ſhort, be only uſeful in the proſperity and induſtry of its inhabitants. Deprive it of the laſt remains of its wealth, and you ruin an unfortunate people, without enriching yourſelves.

preceding

In the place of thoſe placid regulations, which render mankind uſeful to their lords, we ſubſtituted, with prepoſterous policy, force, the abrupt expedient of barbarous conquerors. The preſſure of taxation has, in the ſpace of a few years, trebled the price of proviſions of all kinds. The Company have, in the mean time, been endeavouring, by every poſſible meaſure, to encreaſe their inveſtments, without raiſing the price. Various oppreſſions have, for this purpoſe, been adopted. This wretched expedient is of ſhort duration. The manufacturer may, for one year, perhaps for two, redouble his induſtry; but whilſt the works of his hands is ſorced from him at a ſtated and arbitrary price, he ſinks under an uncommon effort, ſubject to deſpair. The principal ſervants of the Company, to conceal the evil, have found themſelves obliged, either to remit in the quality of the goods, or to raiſe the price to the manufacturer. Both expedients have been in part adopted; but it is a temporary remedy, without the hopes of effectuating a cure.

Obſervations.

The reaſons already mentioned have contributed to deſtroy the trade of Bengal with the reſt of Aſia. Merchants can only procure the gleanings of the Company. The quality is inferior, and the prices high. Nations, formerly ſupplied from Bengal, found themſelves under the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing manufactures of the ſame kind at home, or to adapt their clothing to their poverty. Argument on this head is ſuperfluous. The plan muſt be totally and radically changed. The queſtion is not to oblige the people to become ſilk-winders, ſpinners and weavers, and to take the fruits of their labour, as it is practiſed at preſent, at an arbitrary price. Induſtry cannot be forced upon a people; let them derive advantage from toil, and indolence ſhall loſe its hold. Ingenuity expires under the fooliſh deſpotiſm which defeats its own ends; and human nature, in its moſt wretched ſtate, revolts againſt labour, which produces nothing but an increaſe of toil.

PLAN

FOR RESTORING BENGAL

TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY.

Preliminary Obſervations.

Reflections on the government of India.

GOVERNMENT, among the natives of a country, riſes imperceptibly from that impenetrable obſcurity with which time and barbariſm have covered the origin of mankind. When ſtates are ſubdued by foreign enemies, who are advanced in the arts of civil life, a new conſtitution generally ſtarts up from their preſſure upon the old. Some laws of the conquerors muſt neceſſarily ſuperſede ſome of the regulations of the conquered; but the ancient form of government remains in all the leſſer departments of the ſtate. When the Patans conquered India, when the Moguls extended their empire over that country, many of the indigenous laws of the northern nations of Aſia were introduced; but the great ſyſtem, in moſt of its parts, deſcended from the regulations which Brahma tranſmitted, with his followers, from remote antiquity.

Deſign of the Author.

The Britiſh nation have become the conquerors of Bengal, and they ought to extend ſome part of their own fundamental juriſprudence to ſecure their conqueſts. To call the poſſeſſions of the Company by any other name, is to leave them undefined. The ſword is our tenure, and not the Firmân of an unfortunate prince, who could not give what was not his own. The thin veil of the commiſſion for the Dewanny is removed; and we ſee a great kingdom at laſt in our power, whoſe revolutions we directed before. It is an abſolute conqueſt, and it is ſo conſidered by the world. This it was neceſſary to premiſe. The Author of the Enquiry will now proceed to his plan for reſtoring our conqueſts to their former proſperity. But he proceeds with diffidence: he ſees the magnitude of the ſubject, he feels his own want of abilities. He hopes not to eſcape without cenſure, as he confeſſes himſelf liable to error; but he ſhall anſwer his own purpoſe, if he can throw ſome rays of light upon a ſubject, which, though intereſting to the nation, continues ſtill involved in obſcurity.

Propoſal

Propoſal for eſtabliſhing landed Property.

New arrangement propoſed.

POLICY precedes regulation in every ſociety; and a nation has public before it has private concerns. The great line of general arrangement is prior to the inferior detail of government, the latter being neceſſarily a ſuperſtructure raiſed on the foundation of the former. In Bengal we are to ſuppoſe, that a new treaty is to ſettle its great affairs; otherwiſe we build on the ſand, and the rain comes, and waſhes all away. We ſhall only mention a ſubject on which we may hereafter enlarge. Give the province of Allahabâd to Suja-ul-Dowla, the territories of Bulwant Singh to the emperor, recal your troops into your own dominions, make Patna or Mongeer the reſidence of the repreſentative of Timur, degrade the wretched Mubârick from his nominal Nabobſhip, and let Mahommed Riza RESIGN. Theſe arrangements require no addreſs; the perſons mentioned were the creatures, and they ſtill continue the ſlaves of your power. Beſides, the meaſures will not diſpleaſe the parties. The province of Allahabâd will ſatisfy Suja-ul-Dowla for the territories of Bulwant Singh; Shaw Allum will prefer Patna to his reſidence at Allahabâd; a ſmall penſion is more eligible for Mubârick, than the dangerous name of power which he does not hold; and Mahommed Riza has derived from his SERVICES the means of ſecuring an affluent retreat for his age. If it ſhall appear neceſſary to retain Bengal by an Imperial Firmân, let it be changed into that of perpetual Nabob.

Reflections on landed property.

This fundamental regulation being ſettled, another of equal boldneſs, but no leſs practicable, ought to ſucceed. An eſtabliſhed idea of property is the ſource of all induſtry among individuals, and, of courſe, the foundation of public proſperity. When mankind are reſtrained from poſſeſſing any thing which they can call their own, they are but paſſengers in their native country, and make only thoſe ſlight accommodations which ſuit fugitive wayfarers through the land. A careleſſneſs for induſtry is the natural conſequence of the tranſitorineſs of the fruits of toil; and men ſit ſluggiſhly down, with their hands in their boſoms, when they are not for a moment certain of poſſeſſing property, much leſs of tranſmitting it to their poſterity or friends.

Propoſal for eſtabliſhing

The decline of agriculture, of commerce, and of trade, in the kingdom of Bengal, have been already repreſented, and the ruinous conſequences of farming out the lands from year to year, have been amply explained. Though long leaſes might greatly contribute to remove theſe evils; there is no poſſibility of doubt, but the eſtabliſhment of real property would more immediately and effectually promote a certainty of proſperity to the kingdom. Let, therefore, the Company be impowered, by act of Parliament, to diſpoſe of all the lands in Bengal and Behâr, in perpetuity, at an annual ſum, not leſs than the preſent rents. This ſingle operation would have a chain of beneficial effects. The firſt ſale of the lands would raiſe a ſum which cannot be eſtimated with any degree of preciſion; but we may venture to affirm, that, ſhould the ſcheme be properly advertiſed before it was to take place, and a fourth part of the lands only to be diſpoſed of every year, until the whole ſhould be ſold, no leſs than ten millions, beſides a certain and perpetual revenue, might be drawn from the hidden treaſures of Bengal, and eſpecially from the other opulent kingdoms of Hindoſtan.

landed property

Mankind, it is eaſy to perceive, would, in an empire where no real property exiſts, crowd to a country in which they could enjoy the fruits of their labour, and tranſmit them to their poſterity. Cultivation would be the conſequence of ſecurity. The farmer would improve, to the height, lands that were his own. The revenue would be regularly paid without the heavy expence of a band of oppreſſors, under the name of Collectors, who ſuck the very vitals of the country; and nothing

thing would be required but a few comptoirs for the purpoſe of receiving the rents. The whole face of the country would be changed in a few years: in the place of ſtraggling towns, compoſed of miſerable huts, half of which are waſhed away every ſeaſon by the rain, great and opulent cities would ariſe. Inhabitants would crowd into Bengal from every corner of India, with their wealth; the deficiency in the currency would be reſtored, commerce would diffuſe itſelf through every vein, and manufactures would flouriſh to a degree before unknown.

in Bengal. Men of ſpeculation may ſuppoſe, that the ſecurity of property to the natives might infuſe a ſpirit of freedom, dangerous to our power, into our Indian ſubjects. Nature herſelf ſeems to have denied liberty to the inhabitants of the torrid zone. To make the natives of the fertile ſoil of Bengal free, is beyond the power of political arrangement. The indolence which attends the climate, prevents men from that conſtant activity and exertion, which is neceſſary to keep the nice balance of freedom. Their religion, their inſtitutions, their manners, the very diſpoſitions of their minds, form them for paſſive obedience. To give them property would only bind them with ſtronger ties to our intereſt; and make them more our ſubjects; or, if the Britiſh nation prefers the name—more our ſlaves.

Its great

Men who have nothing to loſe, are only enſlaved by diſunion; and the terror of the impending ſword. Drive them to the laſt verge of poverty, and deſpair will ſtand in the place of ſpirit, and make them free. Men poſſeſſed of property are enſlaved by their intereſt, by their convenience, their luxury and their inherent fears. We owe our freedom to the poverty of our anceſtors, as much as to the rude independence of their ferocious barbariſm. But it is even difficult, in the cool air of our climate, to retain, in the midſt of luxury and wealth, the vigour of mind neceſſary to keep us free. To confer property on the inhabitants of Bengal, will never raiſe in their minds a ſpirit of independence. Their ſole hopes of retaining that property, will be derived from our policy and valour. When we fall, their lands will deviate to other heirs.

and immediate

The revenues of Bengal, when properly paid, amount to four millions. Should this ſum appear too ſmall for perpetuity, many ways and means of encreaſing the taxes, without raiſing the rents, will preſent themſelves. The Britiſh nation, famous for their political freedom, are ſtill more famous for their judgment and wiſdom in impoſing taxations. Let them transfer to the Banks of the Ganges, a part of that ſcience of finance, which has ſo much diſtinguiſhed their councils at home. The wealth of the people of Bengal is a treaſury which will never fail, if drawn upon with judgment. Taxes may riſe, in a juſt proportion, to the wealth which this regulation will inevitably throw into our dominions in the Eaſt.

Advantages.

Very extenſive poſſeſſions in the hands of an individual, are productive of pernicious conſequences in all countries; they ought, therefore, to be prevented in the preſent regulation. Let the purchaſers be confined to a certain quantity of land, not exceeding, upon any account, fifty thouſand roupees a-year. To prevent the accumulation of landed property, let the ſpirit of the laws of a commonwealth be adopted, and the lands be divided equally among all the male iſſue of the proprietor. Let the moveable property be divided among the Mahommedan part of our ſubjects, according to the laws of the Coran. Let the Hindoos, in the ſame manner, retain their own laws of inheritance; which are clear, ſimple, and defined.

Paper Currency.

A propoſal for eſtabliſhing currency.

THE abſolute eſtabliſhment of landed property, would create a perfect confidence in our faith, among our ſubjects in the Eaſt; and this circumſtance leads to another regulation, which, if adopted, would have a great and immediate effect on the proſperity of Bengal. The want of a ſufficient quantity of ſpecie for the purpoſes of trade, and the common intercourſes among mankind, is one of the greateſt evils under which Bengal at preſent labours. Let, therefore, a paper currency be introduced; a meaſure at once ſalutary, eaſy, and practicable. Let a bank be immediately eſtabliſhed at Calcutta, for the convenience of Europeans. This would, by becoming familiar to the natives, prepare them for a more general paper currency. The mode of carrying this into execution, is left in the hands of thoſe better acquainted with the nature of banking, than the Author of the Enquiry.

To deſtroy, at once, the fraudulent ſcience of exchange, which proves ſo detrimental to trade in Bengal, a current coin ought to be eſtabliſhed, to paſs without variation, for its fixed and intrinſic value. This was, in ſome degree, attempted by a noble governor, but he failed in his firſt principles, by impoſing an arbitrary value upon his coin, not leſs than twenty per cent. above its intrinſic worth. No other reaſon is neceſſary for the bad ſucceſs of this coinage. Though a decimal diviſion of money is the moſt rational and commodious; yet entirely to change the forms of a country, in that reſpect, might be attended with great inconvenience. Let the roupee, therefore, conſiſt, as at preſent, of ſixteen of the imaginary Anas, which are now uſed in accounts in Bengal. The Pice, which is the twelfth part of an Ana, may be continued as the imaginary coin; but a copper coin of one half of an Ana, would anſwer the ſubdiviſions of money, and be greatly beneficial to the poor.

Its great

The immediate fall of the exorbitant intereſt of money, which prevails in Bengal, would be one of the firſt effects of this regulation. Ten per centum is the preſent intereſt; not ſo much owing to inſecurity, as to the want of currency. Men of undoubted and eſtabliſhed credit are ready to give this great premium to the lender, as they can turn the money to a great and immediate advantage. Were every man enabled, by a paper currency, to bring his whole property to the market, monopoly, in ſpite of oppreſſion, would be at an end, and trade extend itſelf through a thouſand channels not known now in ſpeculation. The conſequence

4 would

would be highly beneficial; Bengal would draw great quantities of money from all the regions of Aſia; and, by enriching herſelf, be rendered capable of bearing ſuch taxes upon different articles, as this nation, for the augmentation of the revenues, might think proper to impoſe.

and immediate

Napal, Thibet, Ava, Arracân, Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina, China, and almoſt all the iſlands in the Eaſtern ocean, produce gold: In the weſt, that metal ſeems only to be found in the Turkiſh Diarbekir. Japan and China only have ſilver mines. Aſia contains native wealth, which has enriched it in all ages, excluſive of the balance of its commerce againſt Europe. The Author of the Enquiry means not that ſpecie ſhould be drawn from the Eaſt: But it might center in Bengal, and make it one of the richeſt kingdoms in the world; whilſt we might import, in its manufactures, the ſurplus of its revenues, without damaging either its foreign commerce or internal proſperity.

advantages.

Theſe two plans, and it is to be feared only theſe, would reſtore, under a government eſtabliſhed on impartial juſtice, Bengal to its former proſperity and ſplendor. Let the lands be diſpoſed of in property: let a paper currency be eſtabliſhed. Every individual would, in ſuch a caſe, become induſtrious in improving his own eſtate; proviſions would fall to a third part of the preſent price; the country would aſſume a new face, and the people wear the aſpect of joy. Immenſe tracts of rich land, which now, with their woods, conceal the ruins of great cities, would again be cultivated; and new provinces ariſe out of thoſe marſhy iſlands, near the mouth of the Ganges, which are, at preſent, the wild haunts of the rhenoceros and tiger.

Monopolies.

Monopolies

THERE is no maxim in commerce better eſtabliſhed, than the deſtructive tendency of monopolies. In Bengal, its recent evils are well-known and abhorred. A law muſt provide againſt it; otherwiſe every other regulation will be made in vain. The inhabitants muſt be permitted to enjoy a free trade; ſubject, however, to ſuch impoſts upon various articles, excepting thoſe of either the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, as may be thought reaſonable from time to time. Groſs articles, neceſſary for carrying on the finer manufactures, ought, however, to be exempted from duty; and every encouragement poſſible given to the export trade.

abolished.

Free merchants ought to be encouraged; neither muſt they be excluded from the inland trade; as that circumſtance would place the ſubjects of Great Britain on a worſe footing than foreigners, whom we cannot, without violence, prevent from trading wherever they pleaſe. Let, however, the reſidence of the free merchants be confined to Calcutta; as the influence which all the natives of Britain have acquired over the inhabitants of Bengal, is ſo great, that the ſelfiſh can convert it into the means of oppreſſion. The Indian agents of Britiſh traders will not carry, among a wretched people, the ſame terror which clothes their maſters; whom it is a kind of ſacrilege not to obey, in their moſt unjuſt commands.

Superior ſervants debarred from trade.

The ſervants of the Company will have many objections to this propoſal. But the management of the revenues, and of the general trade, which muſt remain in their hands, will ſtill give them ſuperior advantages, ſufficient to gratify all their reaſonable deſires. The influence of a member of the council will, without doubt, enable any man, in that high ſtation, to engroſs a ſhare of the trade, almoſt equal to a partial monopoly. Should even a man of that rank be ſo ſelf-denied, as not to take advantage of the influence annexed to his place, his attention to commerce would encroach on the time allotted for public affairs. Let him, therefore, when he riſes to the board, be debarred from trading, either directly or indirectly, by ſevere penalties of law; and let there an ample allowance be made forhis ſervices, from the funds of the Company.

Religion.

An abſolute MEN who ſubmit to bodily ſervitude, have been known to revolt againſt the ſlavery impoſed on their minds. We may uſe the Indians for our benefit in this world, but let them ſerve themſelves as they can in the next. All religions muſt be tolerated in Bengal, except in the practice of ſome inhuman cuſtoms, which the Mahommedans have already, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed. We muſt not permit young widows, in their virtuous enthuſiaſm, to throw themſelves on the funeral pile, with their dead huſbands; nor the ſick and aged to be drowned, when their friends deſpair of their lives.

toleration The Hindoo religion, in other reſpects, inſpires the pureſt morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greateſt degree of ſubordination to authority, it prepares mankind for the government of foreign lords. It ſupplies,

plies, by its well-followed precepts, the place of penal laws; and it renders crimes almoſt unknown in the land. The peaceable ſentiments which it breathes, will check the more warlike doctrines promulgated by the Coran. The prudent ſucceſſors of Timur ſaw that the Hindoo religion was favourable to their power; and they ſheathed the ſword, which the other princes of the Mahommedan perſuaſion employed in eſtabliſhing their own faith, in all their conqueſts. Freedom of conſcience was always enjoyed in India in the abſence of political freedom.

of all religions.

Attention muſt be paid to the uſages and very prejudices of the people, as well as a regard for their religion. Though many things of that kind may appear abſurd and trivial among Europeans, they are of the utmoſt importance among the Indians. The leaſt breach of them may be productive of an expulſion from the ſociety, a more dreadful puniſhment Draco himſelf could not deviſe. But the caution about religion is ſuperfluous: theſe are no converting days. Among the liſt of crimes committed in Bengal, perſecution for religion is not to be found; and he that will conſent to part with his property, may carry his opinions away with freedom.

The Executive Power.

Reflection on the

THE great path of general regulation is with leſs difficulty traced, than the minute lines which carry the current of government from the center to the extremities of the ſtate. Practice reſiſts theory more on this ſubject than in any other; and the wiſeſt legiſlators can neither foreſee nor prevent obſtacles, which may riſe in the progreſs of time. In a country where the body of the people meet annually, in their repreſentatives, to new inconveniences new remedies may be inſtantly applied; and even the mandate of the deſpot loſes half its tyranny, in the expedition with which it oppoſes evil.

mode of legiſlation;

The diſtance of Bengal from the eye of the Britiſh legiſlature, renders it extremely difficult for them to frame laws againſt every emergency that may ariſe; and it is equally difficult, with propriety, to create a legiſlative authority in a kingdom, which cannot, in the nature of things, have a repreſentative of its own. The executive power being veſted in the governor and council, it is dangerous to truſt them with the legiſlative; and it is impoſſible to permit the court of juſtice, which we mean to propoſe, to make thoſe laws upon which they are to decide. The leaſt of two evils is preferred by the prudent. Let the governor and council ſuggeſt annually, in their general letter, the neceſſary regulations; and theſe, after being duly weighed by the Company, in their collective body at home, be laid before parliament, to be by them, if found juſt, neceſſary, and equitable, framed into a law. The general laws for the government of Bengal being, by the Britiſh legiſlature once eſtabliſhed, the inconveniences which may ariſe in India, will neither be ſo great nor detrimental as to occaſion much miſchief for one, or even two years; in which time, the propoſed regulations, ſent home by the governor and council, will return to them with the force of laws.

the council;

The executive power, in its full extent, as at preſent, muſt be veſted in a preſident and council, of which the chief juſtice and commander in chief of the troops ought to be, *ex officio*, members. The number ſhould be encreaſed to ſixteen, of which any five, with the preſident, may form a board; and ten always to reſide at Calcutta, excluſive of the chief juſtice and the commander in chief, ſhould even the peaceableneſs of the times permit him to be abſent from the army. The four remaining counſellors ſhould be directed to reſide in the capitals of the larger diſtricts, into which, for the benefit of juſtice, we ſhall hereafter divide the provinces of Bengal and Behâr. The buſineſs for forming regulations to make a foundation of a law, being of the laſt importance, ought never to come before leſs than ten members in council, of whom the chief juſtice ought invariably to be one.

boards of revenues.

Let a general board of revenue be eſtabliſhed at Calcutta, at which a member of the council is to preſide. Let this board, in its inferior departments, be conducted by the Company's ſervants; and let it receive the correſpondence and check the accounts of four other boards of the ſame kind, but of inferior juriſdiction, to be fixed at Dacca, Murſhedabâd, Mongeer, and Patna. Let the provinces of Bengal and Behâr be divided into five equal diviſions, each ſubject, in the firſt inſtance, to one of the four boards, which are all under the controul of the ſuperior board of revenue eſtabliſhed at Calcutta. In the leſſer diſtricts, let a Company's ſervant ſuperintend the collection of the revenue; and be accountable for his tranſactions to the board, under whoſe juriſdiction he acts.

Neceſſary reformations.

The wild chaos of government, if the abſence of all rule deſerves the name, which ſubſiſts in Bengal, muſt be utterly removed. There ſome faint traces of the Britiſh conſtitution is mixed with the poſitive orders of a Court of Directors, the convenient and temporary expedients of a trading governor and council, the ſecret orders of the ſelect committee, the influence of the preſident, with the Nabob, and the boiſterous deſpotiſm of Mahommed Riza. To ſeparate, or even to reſtrain them within proper bounds, is beyond human capacity; ſome branches muſt be lopt off to give more vigour and room to others to flouriſh. Mubârick muſt retire from the Muſnud; Mahommed Riza and the ſecret committee vaniſh away; and even the council itſelf muſt be reſtrained from BREVI MANU deſpotiſm; ſuch as, the ſending home, by force, Britiſh ſubjects, and diſmiſſing officers without the ſentence of a court martial.

Judicial Power.

TO preſerve the health of the political body, the pure ſtream of impartial juſtice muſt ruſh, with vigour, through every vein. When it meets with obſtructions, a diſeaſe is produced; and, when the whole maſs becomes corrupted, a languor ſucceeds, which frequently terminates in death. To drop the metaphor, the diſtributers of juſtice ought to be independent of every thing but the law. The executive part of government muſt not interfere with the deciſions of the judge, otherwiſe that officer, who was created for the defence of

Reflection.

of the ſubject from injury, becomes a tool of oppreſſion in the hands of deſpotiſm.

Various juriſdictions in Bengal.

The firſt principle of wiſe legiſlation is to open an eaſy paſſage to the temple of Juſtice. Where the ſeat of redreſs is either diſtant or difficult of acceſs, an injury is forgot to avoid the trouble of complaint; and thus injuſtice is encouraged by the almoſt certain proſpect of impunity. To avoid this evil, the Author of the Enquiry thinks it neceſſary, that the act of the legiſlature, which ſhall conſtitute the mode of diſtributing juſtice, ſhould alſo divide Bengal and Behâr into five great provinces, the capitals of which ought to be Calcutta, Murſhedabâd, and Dacca, in Bengal; and Patna and Mongeer, in Behâr. Let each of theſe five great diviſions be ſubdivided into ten Chucklas, or extenſive diſtricts, almoſt the number of which the kingdom conſiſts at preſent; and let each of theſe be ſtill ſubdivided into an indefinite number of Pergunnas.

Conſtables and juſtices of the peace.

To bring juſtice, to uſe a certain author's words, home to the door of every man, let there, in each village, be eſtabliſhed, as in the days of the empire, a Muckuddum, to act as a conſtable for the preſervation of the peace. A Sheichdâr, with a commiſſion ſimilar to that of a juſtice of the peace, ſhould be fixed in the moſt

centrical

centrical part of the Pergunna or leſſer diſtrict, to whom diſputes, which cannot be quaſhed by the authority of the Muckuddum or conſtable, may be referred. Let the court of this officer, however, communicate with another of a more extenſive and ample juriſdiction, eſtabliſhed in the capital of the diviſion or diſtrict, of which the Pergunna is a part.

Cutwâl, or Mayor.

Similar to the office of a Sheikdâr or juſtice of the peace, ought to be that of the Cutwâl or mayor of great towns and conſiderable cities. The wiſdom of the houſe of Timur eſtabliſhed this officer, to animadvert upon thieves, gamblers, and other miſcreants; to remove nuiſances, to ſuppreſs pimps and jugglers, to prevent foreſtalling of grain and other proviſions; to be the regulator of the market, and to decide in all trivial and vexatious diſputes, that tended toward a breach of the peace. His miniſterial office coincided almoſt with that of the mayors of our leſſer towns; and his court was the counterpart of the now obſolete CURIA PEDIS PULVERIZATI, mentioned by our lawyers.

Courts of Cutcherri.

In every Chuckla, or greater diviſion, let there be eſtabliſhed a court ſimilar in its nature, but different in its mode, to the courts of Cutcherri, inſtituted in the days of the empire. Let this court be compoſed of the

Company's ſervant, reſiding for the collection of the revenue in the Chuckla, and of two Mahommed Cazis, and two Brahmins. The ſervant of the Company ought to be the nominal preſident of the court, but only to ſit when the voices are equal, to throw his caſting-vote on the ſide of equity. In ſuch a caſe the proceſs to begin anew. The fees of the court muſt be regulated, and a table of the expence of every article to be hung up to public view, in the common hall. The puniſhment for corruption, upon conviction in the ſupreme court of Bengal, ought to riſe to a degree of ſeverity, ſuitable to the danger of the crime.

Its juriſdiction.

This court, beſides the power of hearing appeals from the deciſions of the Sheichdâr in the leſſer diſtricts, ought to retain its ancient authority, ſubject, however, to an appeal from deciſions beyond a ſum to be ſpecified, to the provincial courts, which ſhall be hereafter deſcribed. Its juriſdiction ought to extend to the contracting and diſſolving of marriages, to the ſettlement of doweries for women, and the ſucceſſion to money and moveables among children, according to the reſpective inſtitutes of the Mahommedan and Hindoo ſyſtems of religion. It ought alſo to be a court of record; and to be obliged to keep an exact regiſter of all public and private contracts, births, marriages, and deaths; and, to execute that department of the buſineſs, a Canongoe and a Mutaa Mutaſeddy, as clerks, ought to be annexed to each court. Theſe, with other matters to be deſcribed in the ſucceeding ſection, ought to comprehend the whole power of the court of Cutcherri.

Provincial courts.

In each of the capitals of the five provinces, a member of the council of ſtate at Calcutta ought to reſide. He, together with poſſeſſing the management of the Company's commercial affairs in his province, ought to be empowered, by a ſpecial commiſſion, with three aſſeſſors of the elder reſident ſervants, to form, and preſide in a court of juſtice, which we ſhall, for diſtinction, call, The provincial court of appeal. To direct their judgment upon points of law, an officer, under the name of Attorney-general for the province, ought to be appointed to give his advice, together with a Mahommedan Cazi, and an Indian Brahmin, to explain the principles of their reſpective inſtitutions and uſages, and to tender oaths to the parties. Suits may originate in this court; and it ought to have the power of removing before itſelf the proceedings of the court of Cutcherri.

Supreme court, its civil

To eſtabliſh thoroughly the independence of the judicial on the executive power, a ſupreme court, from which an appeal ought only to lie to Great Britain, ſhould be erected at Calcutta, by the authority of the legiſlature. Let it conſiſt of a chief juſtice and three *puiſné* juſtices, who derive their commiſſions from the king; and let them be in Bengal the counterpart of the court of king's bench in England. The juriſdiction of this court, which, from its tranſcendent power, may be called the ſupreme court of Bengal, ought to extend, without limitation, over the whole kingdom; and to keep the inferior courts, within the bounds of their authority; as well as to decide ultimately upon all appeals. It ought to protect the juſt rights of the ſubject, by its ſudden and even ſummary interpoſition; and to take cognizance of criminal as well as of civil cauſes.

and criminal juriſdiction.

To carry juſtice, in criminal matters, with all the expedition poſſible, through our conqueſts, it is propoſed, thas two of the *puiſné* juſtices ſhall, twice a-year, go on circuits, to the reſpective capitals of the five provinces, one into the three provinces in Bengal, and one into the two, into which Behâr is to be divided. The *puiſné* juſtice ſhall ſit, upon theſe occaſions, with the members of the provincial court; but the member of the council, who is the preſident of the court, ſhall ſtill be conſidered as the principal judge. In criminal matters, the culprit ſhall be tried by a jury of Britiſh ſubjects only; there being always a ſufficient number of good and lawful men to form a jury, in the capital of the province. In the ſupreme court at Calcutta, diſputes between the natives may be decided in civil caſes, according to equity, without a jury, by the judges; but, in ſuits between Britiſh ſubjects, the matter ought to be tried by a jury, upon the principles of the law of England.

Court of exchequer,

The ſole management of the revenue of Bengal, being in the Company, many capital alterations are neceſſary to be made in that important branch. The great channel of public juſtice has been, by the above regulations, ſeparated from the executive power; but ſome part of the judicial authority muſt ſtill remain in the Company's hands. To manage the receipts of the revenue, it has been already mentioned, that five boards muſt be formed, the ſuperior one of which to remain in Calcutta. The boards ought to conſiſt of two diviſions, or rather of two ſides; the receipt of the Exchequer, and the judicial part, which muſt enable them to inforce the payment of the revenues.

its juriſdiction

The mode of proceeding in this branch ought to riſe in the ſame gradations with the courſe of appeals in the civil line of diſputes between man and man. Let the Cutcherries inforce the payment of the revenues of the Chucklas, under an appeal to the provincial board, whoſe deciſions, beyond certain ſums, ought to be ſubject to the reviſion of the general board at Calcutta. But, as the ſtate muſt not ſuffer through delay, let the ſum in diſpute, upon a deciſion againſt the ſubject, by any of the courts of revenue before whom the ſuit ſhall originate, be forthwith paid into the exchequer; and let the perſon aggrieved ſeek for redreſs, by petition, to the court which is placed immediately above that court, of whoſe deciſion he complains.

confined as ſuch.

The board of revenue, in each of the capital cities of the five provinces, except in Calcutta, where no court of law except the ſupreme court exiſts, is to be made up of the ſame perſons whom we have already placed as judges in the provincial court of appeal. The court of exchequer, in England, examines, by a fiction, into all ſorts of civil cauſes. It is neceſſary to preclude the boards of revenue from ſuch powers, as a court of exchequer. As provincial courts of common law, their deciſions are liable to an appeal to the ſupreme court at Calcutta, and therefore any prejudices which they may be ſuppoſed to imbibe, as members of the executive part of government, cannot be of great detriment to the people, ſubject as their proceedings are to a court not amenable to the juriſdiction of the Company.

Obſervations on the Judicial Power.

Reflections

THE deſpotiſm which naturally ſprung from the double government which aroſe on the foundation of the ſucceſs of our arms in Bengal, repreſſed one evil, whilſt it gave birth to a thouſand. Thoſe frequent diſputes which grow between individuals, where the acceſs to juſtice is eaſy, were quaſhed by a terror which prevented an unfortunate people from appearing before rulers who wanted but an excuſe to oppreſs. The hand of power fell heavy upon both the plaintiff and defendant; and, therefore, men put up with injuries from one another, in hopes of concealing themſelves from the rigid eyes of government. This alludes to the boiſterous tyranny of the miniſter of a nominal Nabob; indolence was more our crime, than cruelty.

on what of their own laws

The doors opened to juſtice in the preceding ſection, will, without doubt, introduce an ample harveſt for men of the law; but it is better that they ſhould live by litigiouſneſs, than that the people ſhould periſh by tyranny. The objection riſing from this circumſtance muſt therefore vaniſh in the utility of the thing; and another objection, juſt as obvious, may be as eaſily removed. It may be thought impolitic by ſome, that any part of the judicial authority ſhould remain in the hands of the natives: But this is objected in vain. The officers of juſtice, as well as being ſubject to a reviſion of their decrees to the Britiſh, derive from them their own power; and the people, by being left in poſſeſſion of ſome of their laws and uſages, will be flattered into an inviolable ſubmiſſion to our government.

ought to be left entire

Though the inhabitants of Bengal are, from their natural diſpoſition, prepared to ſubmit to any ſyſtem of government, founded upon juſtice, there are ſome laws of their own, which abſolute power itſelf muſt not violate. The regulations, with regard to their women and religion, muſt never be touched; and, upon mature conſideration, the Author of the Enquiry is of opinion, that many other ancient inſtitutions might be left entire. There are, however, particular uſages eſtabliſhed by time into a law, which our humanity muſt deſtroy. No pecuniary compenſation muſt be permitted for murder; no theft be puniſhed by cutting off the hand. Let the Mahommedan laws ſtill in force againſt the Hindoos be abrogated; let no women burn themſelves with their huſbands, no dying perſon be expoſed by his friends.

To leave the natives entirely to their own laws, would be to conſign them to anarchy and confuſion. The inhabitants of Bengal are divided into two religious ſects, the Mahommedan and Hindoo, almoſt equal in point of numbers. Averſe, beyond meaſure, to one another, both on account of religion and the memory of mutual injuries, the one party will not now ſubmit to the laws of the other; and the diſſention which ſubſiſts between individuals, would, without a preſſure from another power, ſpread in a flame over the whole kingdom. It is, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary for the peace and proſperity of the country, that the laws of England, in ſo far as they do not oppoſe prejudices and uſages which cannot be relinquiſhed by the natives, ſhould prevail. The meaſure, beſides its equity, is calculated to preſerve that influence which conquerors muſt poſſeſs to retain their power.

to the natives.

The expence of the judicial eſtabliſhment is but trivial, if compared to the advantages which the kingdom of Bengal muſt derive from ſuch a neceſſary inſtitution. The judges in every country ſhould be placed in affluence; in Bengal they ought to derive a fortune from the labour of ſome years. The natives of a northern climate ſettle not for life in the torrid zone; they always place the proſpect of returning with wealth to their friends,

Expence of

among their great inducements for venturing to croſs the ocean. The following table preſents an eſtimate of the annual expence of juſtice in Bengal.

The Supreme Court of Bengal.

the ſupreme,

One chief juſtice, - -	£. 10,000
Three *puiſné* juſtices, - -	15,000
One attorney general, -	3,000
One regiſter, - - -	2,000
Two Cazis and two Brahmins, to attend the court, - -	0,400
Contingencies, - - -	1,000
	£. 31,400

the provincial,

The four provincial courts of appeal, conſiſting of the Company's ſervants.

Four counſellors, as preſidents,	£. 2,000
Twelve aſſeſſors, - - -	2,400
One provincial attorney in each,	2,000
One regiſter in each, - -	0,800
One Cazi and one Brahmin in each, - - -	0,800
Contingencies in all, - -	1,600
	£. 9,600

Fifty

and Cutcherri courts.

Fifty courts of Cutcherri.

Fifty preſidents, being ſervants of the Company, - -	£. 5,000
Two hundred aſſeſſors, - -	10,000
Fifty regiſters, - - -	1,500
Fifty Clerks, - - -	1,000
	£. 17,500
	£. 58,500

Obſervation.

The above calculation, it is hoped, will not be thought extravagant, for diſpenſing juſtice to fifteen millions of people. The ſalaries of the members of the boards of revenue, and of theſe, as forming courts of exchequer, are not mentioned, as the Company is ſuppoſed to pay its own ſervants, with certain ſums and lucrative privileges for the whole of their trouble. The Shiechdârs, the Cutwâls, and the Muckuddums, have no ſalaries; the influence and diſtinction which they ſhall derive from their employments, being a ſufficient reward for their toil.

General Reflections on the Plan.

Reflections on the

PROPERTY being once eſtabliſhed, and the forms of juſtice to protect it delineated, public proſperity is placed on a ſolid foundation. But the love of money, which generally prevails, renders the moſt of mankind more anxious to poſſeſs preſent profit, than to look forward to future advantage. The plan which we have laid down in the preceding ſections, will begin to yield an apparent benefit from its commencement; at the ſame time that the tide will become the more rapid the longer it flows.

immediate

The immediate pecuniary advantages which will riſe to Bengal, are to be derived from various ſources. The removal of the emperor, either to Patna or Mongeer, will ſave to the kingdom his penſion of three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds; the revenues of the territory of Bulwant Singh, three hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred pounds to be ſpent in Bengal; and fifty thouſand pounds, which is now ſent abroad, without hopes of return, to pay three battalions of our troops, ſtationed at Allahabâd. This ſum of ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand pounds, thrown at once into the circulation, would animate the languid pulſe of commerce; and at once prepare the kingdom for the commercial improvements, which the plan, in its other regulations, ſeems abſolutely to enſure.

The future advantages ariſe alſo from various ſprings. The influx of ſpecie and inhabitants, which the ſale of the waſte as well as of the cultivated lands, would draw from all the other provinces of Hindoſtan, would be productive of immediate national wealth. The advancement of agriculture would promote the advancement of manufactures. The peace of the country would be ſecured from abroad; and juſtice, by prevailing at home, would attach the natives to a government, on the ſtability of which the poſſeſſion of their landed property depended. The eſtabliſhment of a paper currency, on national faith and the Company's ſecurity, would enable mankind to bring all their property into action, lower the exorbitant intereſt of money, and render Bengal, in the ſpace of a few years, the moſt commercial, the moſt flouriſhing, and the moſt wealthy kingdom, of its extent, in Aſia.

and future advantages

The Company, in the midſt of the proſperity of the ſubject, would amazingly thrive in their affairs. A ſum not leſs than ten millions, independent of their revenue, would, in the ſpace of four years, flow from the firſt ſales of the

to be derived from the plan.

the land into their coffers. The improvement of their preſent revenue would join iſſue, with its future certainty and permanency. A large annual ſum would ariſe, from a thorough examination of tenures; and from impoſts already laid upon fairs, markets, entrance into great towns, ſhops, magazines of grain, fees upon marriages, tolls collected at ferries, licences for exerciſing trades, ground-rent of houſes, which though at preſent paid by the public, have never been brought to account by Mahommed Riza and the general farmers. Theſe articles, at the loweſt average, might amount to the annual ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds. Five hundred thouſand pounds would yearly be ſaved in penſions, and on the charge of collection; beſides, the immenſe encreaſe in the revenues, which would moſt certainly be derived from the growing proſperity of the kingdom.

Concluding

The abſolute eſtabliſhment of property, without which written law ſeems ſuperfluous to ſociety, is, as has been obſerved, the foundation upon which national proſperity is laid. Regulations which ſtop ſhort of this primary object, are only temporary expedients, which may, for a time, alleviate the pain of the diſtemper, but it can never cure. A tacit acquieſcence in the right of poſſeſſion of the natives, the prevention of ſome part of the preſent national waſte, a mild deſpotiſm, which we may dignify with the name of Juſtice, will have an immediate good effect; but the advantage is limited, partial, and tranſient; and the Author of the Enquiry will venture to affirm, that, unleſs ſomething ſimilar to what has been, in the preceding ſections, propoſed, is adopted, Bengal will, in the courſe of a few years, decline into a ſhadow, and vaniſh from our hands.

reflection.

Miracles are not to be expected in this age; and, without them, in the abſence of a bold and determined exertion, the boaſted fruits of our victories in the Eaſt, will wither with our laurels. A kingdom, lying under all the diſadvantages of a foreign conqueſt, which, without return, deprives it of one million and an half of its annual induſtry, muſt ſink under the weight, unleſs it is placed on a better footing than the ſurrounding countries which pay no tribute. Let our juſtice to our own ſubjects, let the advantages of our regulations, entice foreigners with their wealth to ſettle among us; let us, without the ſword, appropriate the wealth of India by our policy; otherwiſe the ſtream which flows into Great Britain, will ſoon become dry. The lake, which feeds it, has already diſappeared from the banks. Temporary regulations may dazzle with their immediate effect; but a permanent plan, which in its wide circle comprehends futurity, will preſerve the vigour and health of Bengal, to the verge of that political death, to which all empires ſeem to be ſubjected by Fate.

Concluding Reflections.

Preſent

ARGUMENTS deduced from general principles, however obvious they may appear, ſtrike not the bulk of mankind ſo forcibly as facts. The revenues of Bengal, without including the Jagieers, amounted, in the year 1766, to near three millions and ſix hundred thouſand pounds of our money. The charges of collection, the Nabob's government, penſions, civil, military, and marine expences, being deducted, there remained a balance of one million three hundred thouſand pounds, for the Company. The expences have ſince been encreaſing yearly, and the revenues decreaſing. Both were haſtening to that middle point, which would balance the accounts of the Britiſh nation, with the fortune of their arms in the Eaſt.

ruinous ſtate

To conceal this decreaſe as much as poſſible, men fell on a very ſhallow and poor expedient. The ſervants of the Company protracted the time of cloſing the accounts to make up the uſual ſum; and, by theſe means, an encroachment of five months was, by degrees, made upon the ſucceeding year. To underſtand this circumſtance, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the collections are not fixed to a particular term. They are continued without intermiſſion, and the produce of the five months, which may amount to one million five hundred thouſand pounds, muſt be deducted from the accounts made up, ſince the Dewanny was ſubmitted to our management.

of the revenue.

Notwithſtanding this deception, it was not the only deficiency in the ſtate of money affairs. The revenues of the year 1769 had, beſides, fallen ſhort five hundred thouſand pounds; and what further reduction the famine which enſued may have made, time can only demonſtrate. By the beſt accounts from Bengal, there was not a balance of five hundred thouſand pounds remaining, after all expences were paid; and this was not above half the ſum neceſſary to purchaſe the annual inveſtments of the Company. No fair concluſion, however, can be drawn from the produce of one year; and the vigilance of the Court of Directors has ſince eſtabliſhed ſome beneficial regulations. To flatter the ſanguine, we will ſuppoſe, that the net balance will amount, on the preſent footing, to one million. The ſum is juſt ſufficient for the inveſtments of the Company; without leaving a ſingle farthing in the treaſury to anſwer any extraordinary emergency.

Obvious

The advantages of the propoſed plan are obvious; and, therefore, eaſily explained. Let it be ſuppoſed, that the rent-roll of the year 1766 ſhall be taken as the rule of the quit-rent to be paid, after the ſale of the lands. Let none think this ſum too much. Under the management of the proprietors, the lands would in a few years produce, thrice the ſum of three millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds; but the ſubject muſt receive a bribe for his induſtry. The Company, at preſent, complain, that the Talookdârs, or thoſe who poſſeſs lands in property, run away with all the tenants. Their eſtates are flouriſhing, whilſt our limited policy of letting the lands by the year, has created ſolitudes around. After a thorough examination of fictitious tenures, private encroachments and public embezzlements, we may, with great propriety, venture to add, at leaſt one million to the above ſum. But to ſpeak with a moderation which precludes reply, we ſhall only take it for granted, that four hundred thouſand pounds are, by theſe means, only gained. Even this ſum will fix the annual revenue at four millions; and there let it reſt till the proſperity of the country ſhall authoriſe an encreaſe, by ſlight impoſts on trade and the articles of conſumption.

The

Advantages

The abolition of the tyrannical and impolitic government of the Nabob, will be a ſaving of five hundred thouſand pounds on the annual expences. The fact is notorious, that the real expence of this ſecondary and intermediate government, in penſions and in the mode of collection, exceeds ſix hundred thouſand pounds; but the judicial and fiſcal ſyſtems eſtabliſhed in the preceding plan will not exceed one hundred thouſand pounds, with all the advantages of a ſalutary and equitable adminiſtration of juſtice and law. To this ſum we may add the five hundred thouſand pounds which have fallen off from the revenue, as the firſt-fruits of the plan; all which, ſuppoſing the expences of the civil, military, and marine departments to remain as at preſent, would make an annual difference of one million four hundred thouſand pounds, in favour of the Company. The inveſtments of the Company might in that caſe be increaſed, yet leave a ſum for the treaſury in Calcutta for emergencies.

of the preceding.

The treaſury, however, ought not to be too rich, leſt circulation ſhould deaden in the kingdom. Two millions in ſpecie would be ſufficient. To employ the ſurplus to advantage, together with the ten millions, which are ſuppoſed to ariſe from the ſale of the lands, a bank ought to be eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of lending out ſums of money, not exceeding three years purchaſe on landed ſecurity to the Proprietors, at the intereſt of ſeven per centum. The land-holders would be, by theſe means, enabled to raiſe the neceſſary ſums, at leſs than half the intereſt which they now pay; and the Company would have good ſecurity for their advances. Let us ſuppoſe, that, in the courſe of a few years, ten millions were lent upon theſe terms, that ſum would produce an annual intereſt of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; which, upon the whole plan, makes a yearly balance, in favour of the Company, of TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS MORE THAN THEY AT PRESENT RECEIVE, excluſive of a PRODIGIOUS and GROWING TREASURE; and the moderate impoſts which may be hereafter laid on articles of luxury.

Plan. The Plan, to ſpeak the leaſt its favour, is practicable in its great and general line. It would produce, even partially followed, immenſe, ſudden, and permanent advantages; but no human foreſight can abſolutely eſtimate the preciſe ſums. Though the Author of the Enquiry has not the vanity to ſuppoſe that his ſcheme is, in all its branches, infallible, he will venture to pledge himſelf to his country, that, ſhould the more material parts of his ſyſtem be adopted, the advantages to be derived from it would not fall ſhort of his calculations. His knowledge of the kingdom of Bengal, and its various reſources, gives him a confidence on this ſubject, to which he is not intitled by his abilities.

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OF

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THOUGH the Author of this volume derives by far the greateſt part of his facts from Eaſtern writers, he has not overlooked the interrupted glimpſes of the tranſactions in the Mogul empire, preſerved by intelligent Europeans, who travelled, the laſt century, into India. He relies upon their authority with regard to what they had *ſeen*. He prefers the accounts of domeſtic writers, to what they only *heard*. He draws his information chiefly from the following authors; and the originals are, at this moment, in his hands.

I. MIRAT UL WARIDAT; or, The MIRROR OF OCCURRENCES, written by MAHOMMED SHUFFIA of Delhi. He undertook the work at the requeſt of Byram Chan, in the reign of Mahommed Shaw. He profeſſes his book to be a continuation of the work of Feriſhta; and it contains a compendious hiſtory of the Mogul Empire, from the death of Akbâr, to the invaſion of Nadir Shaw.

II. JEHANGIRE NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR JEHANGIRE. By MATIMID CHAN of Delhi.

III. SHAW JEHAN NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR SHAW JEHAN. By MIRZA CASIM, the ſon of MIRZA AMIN, private ſecretary to Aurungzêbe. Our Author ſucceeded his father in that office.

IV. ROSE NAMMA; or, A Journal of the firſt Ten Years of Aurungzêbe. By the ſame Writer.

V. ALLUMGIRE NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF ALLUMGIRE or AURUNGZEBE. By the ſame. This work is little more than an abridgment of the above.

VI. MIRAT ALLUM; or, THE MIRROR OF THE WORLD. By NAZIR BUCHTAR CHAN, a man of letters, who led a private life near Feridâbad, within a few miles of Agra. This work contains the hiſtory of the firſt Ten Years of Aurungzêbe.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. I.

Obſervations——Death of Akbar——Acceſſion of Selim, by the name of JEHANGIRE*——Rebellion of Sultan Chuſero——Battle of Lahore——Chuſero's miſfortunes——Rebellion quaſhed——Executions——War with Perſia——A conſpiracy.*

A. D. 1605. Higer. 1014. General

THE great abilities of Akbar confirmed the houſe of Timur on the throne, and eſtabliſhed tranquillity over all their vaſt conqueſts in India. Vigorous in his meaſures, without tyranny, he impreſſed the minds of men with awe, and checked that ſpirit of diſcord and private ambition, which had prevailed in more feeble reigns. Government becoming ſettled and uniform in its regulations, the arts of civil life began to increaſe and flouriſh, among a people naturally induſtrious and ingenious. The ſplendor of the court, the wealth of individuals, created

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general taſte for pomp and magnificence; and the crowded levees of the great, where all endeavoured to excel in the art of pleaſing, rendered the Indians equal in politeneſs to the nations of Europe. Learning was not unknown, if we exclude the abſtruſe ſciences. The Arabian and Brahmin ſyſtems of philoſophy were ſtudied; and the powers of the mind were generally cultivated and improved.

obſervations.

This character of civilization, it muſt be confeſſed, tallies not with the political conduct of the people. But neceſſity and ſelf-preſervation make a kind of apology for crimes under deſpotiſm, which would be unpardonable in a community governed by general and known laws. In ſtates ſubject to arbitrary government, there is no ſecurity, no honour, no independence in private life. The nation is divided into two ſorts of people, the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed. Every man of ſpirit, of family, and of fortune, muſt, in ſelf-defence, endeavour to poſſeſs a ſhare of the government under which he was born. When he ſtarts forth from obſcurity, he muſt adopt the political principles of his country, or be ruined in all his ſchemes, however repugnant theſe principles may be to the general dictates of humanity, and the particular diſpoſition of his own mind. The greateſt virtues therefore are often blended with the worſt vices; and this circumſtance gives a variety and ſtrength of feature to Aſiatic characters, unknown in the ſettled governments of the weſt.

Extent and revenues of the empire.

Though the empire of the Mahommedans in India was not ſo extenſive under Akbar as it had been under ſome princes of the Patan Dynaſty, it comprehended a vaſt tract of country, divided into twenty-two provinces; each equal to ſome kingdoms in wealth, fertility and extent *. A ſmall part only of the Decan or ſourthern peninſula of India had been conquered:

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* Kandahar, Ghizni, Cabal, Caſhmire, Lahore, Moultân, Outch, Sindi, Ajmere, Sirhind, Delhi, Duâb, Agra, Allahabad, Oud, Behâr, Bengal, Oriſſa, Malava, Berâr, Chandeiſh, Guzerat.

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quered: yet the dominions of the family of Timur, in their northern and ſouthern frontiers, fell under the thirty-ſixth and nineteenth parallels of latitude; and they extended themſelves, from eaſt to weſt, about twenty-five degrees. The revenues, according to the Imperial regiſter, were thirty-two millions ſterling, received in the exchequer, excluſive of the cuſtomary preſents, and the eſtates of the officers of the crown, which at their death reverted to the emperor, and amounted, at a medium, to twenty millions more of our money. Theſe immenſe ſums were expended in maintaining an army of three hundred thouſand horſe, as many of foot, in ſupport of the ſplendor of the court, and in the ſalaries of civil officers.

Intrigues againſt Sultan Selim.

When the indiſpoſition of the emperor Akbar rendered him incapable of attending to public buſineſs, the whole weight of government fell on Chan Azim, the Viſier. Selim, Akbar's only ſurviving ſon, notwithſtanding the diſputes which he had formerly with his father, was ſtill looked upon as the heir of the empire. But the Viſier's daughter being married to Chuſero, the eldeſt ſon of Selim, that miniſter was deſirous of placing the reins of government in the hands of his ſon-in-law. He was ſupported in this ſcheme by many of the nobles; the moſt enterprizing and powerful of whom was Raja Man Singh, whoſe ſiſter was the mother of Chuſero. The Raja, from the antiquity of his family, and his own addreſs, commanded all the Hindoo intereſt in the empire; and he had, at that very time, twenty thouſand of his native ſubjects of the Rajaput tribe in and near the environs of the capital, prepared to execute his orders. Selim being apprized of the powerful confederacy againſt him, waited upon his father Akbar, two days before his death, and laid before him all their ſchemes. The emperor called them to his preſence, reprimanded them ſeverely; and having publicly acknowledged Selim his law-

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ful ſucceſſor in the empire, obliged the confederate lords to pay him homage, and to promiſe to ſupport his title.

His acceſſion to the throne.

On the ſixteenth of the ſecond Jemmâd, in the year of the Higera one thouſand and fourteen, the illuſtrious Akbar expired at Agra, amid the tears of his ſubjects; who loved him as their father, admired him as their leader, and feared him as their prince. The promiſe extorted by the emperor from the Viſier and Man Singh in favour of Selim, had no effect on their conduct. He was no ſooner dead than they aſſembled their party in the houſe of the former, and renewed their deliberations in favour of Chuſero, in prejudice of his father. Selim in the mean time was not idle. He convened all his friends in his own palace. Things remained in ſuſpenſe for ſome hours. Ferid Bochari, who commanded the city-guards, took at length a ſpirited reſolution. He ordered the gates to be ſhut, to prevent any troops from entering the city; and, taking the keys in his hand, haſtened to the palace of Selim. He preſented them on his knees, and ſaluted him emperor. All preſent followed his example. The news ſoon reached the houſe of the Viſier. The party of Chuſero was ſtruck with a ſudden panic. They broke up from council, and made all poſſible haſte to pay their reſpects to the new ſovereign. The Viſier took care not to be the laſt. The hopes of Chuſero were daſhed in a moment. He was ſeized with fear, and fled down the river in a ſmall canoe, with Raja Man Singh, and concealed himſelf in that prince's houſe till he obtained a pardon from his father. Ferid, for this ſignal ſervice, was advanced to the rank of paymaſter-general of the forces, by the title of Murtaza Chan; and many other diſtinguiſhing honours were at the ſame time conferred upon him.

His titles and age.

Selim was born at Sikri, near Agra, on Wedneſday the ſeventeenth of the ſecond Ribbi, in the nine hundredth and ſeventy-ſeventh year of the Higera. The moſt remarkable event of Selim's life, before his acceſſion, was, his diſobedience to his father's orders, rather than his rebellion againſt him, about two years prior to that monarch's death. Inſolent at firſt, he refuſed to return to his duty, and was once actually at the head of ſeventy thouſand men. Upon the death of the prince Daniâl, he, however, ſubmitted, having then a nearer proſpect of the throne; Akbar having upbraided him for his diſobedience at firſt, and his puſillanimity afterwards, for throwing himſelf upon an enraged ſovereign's mercy, when he was at the head of a great army, received him into favour. When Selim took the reins of government in his hands, he aſſumed the titles of Noor-ul-dien Mahommed JEHANGIRE, or Mahommed the Light of the Faith and CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD. He dated the commencement of his reign from the twentieth of the ſecond Jemmâd 1014, which anſwers to the 21ſt of October 1605, being then in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. Akbar was interred with great pomp at Secundra, near Agra; and the minds of men were diſtracted between grief and joy, funeral ſolemnity, and the feſtivity attending upon the acceſſion of a new ſovereign.

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His prudent and wiſe adminiſtration.

Chan Azim, the diſcontented Viſier, and the Raja Man Singh, were ſo formidable in the empire, that Jehangire thought it moſt prudent to accept of the offered allegiance of both, and to confirm them in their reſpective honours and governments, without animadverſion upon their late conduct. Man Singh was diſpatched to his ſubaſhip of Bengal; Chan Azim to that of Malava. The prince Chuſero made his appearance at court; and his father, after a ſevere reprimand, took him at laſt into favour. The emperor in the mean time began his reign by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and by a minute inſpection into the finances and reſources of the ſtate. He iſſued a public edict to confirm all the

laws

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laws and regulations in force. Many ſubas were removed from their reſpective governments into other provinces: ſome were diſmiſſed to make room for the emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived governors repaired to court to reſtore themſelves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some ſucceeded in their views: others were reduced to deſpair, through want of ſucceſs. The latter began to form treaſonable deſigns to recover the conſequence and power which they had loſt.

A conſpiracy in favour of his ſon Chuſero;

To accompliſh their purpoſe, the diſcontented lords turned their eyes upon Chuſero, and hoped, by his means, to effect a revolution in the ſtate. They pretended to have the greateſt attachment to his perſon: they magnified the number of his friends, and his own merit. They rouzed his ambition by the praiſe of paſt actions, and animated it by the fair proſpect of preſent ſucceſs. But what had moſt weight with the prince, they intimidated him with pretended diſcoveries of the deſigns of his father againſt his life. The ſecrecy neceſſary to be obſerved in all arduous undertakings againſt deſpotic governments, rendered it difficult for Chuſero to know the true ſtate of things. The ſpies, whom the emperor had placed around him, in the mean time, increaſed, and confirmed his fears. Ambition, aided by timidity, at length prevailed over filial duty. He plunged therefore into danger, to take immediate poſſeſſion of a throne, which he was born one day to mount, without the doubtful fortune of the ſword.

who rejects a propoſal of aſſaſſination.

Chan Azim, and the Raja Man Singh, had the addreſs not to appear openly in the conſpiracy. They were, however, known to be the life and ſupport of the whole. They were ſtill under the cloud of the emperor's diſpleaſure, which, at a convenient ſeaſon, might burſt on their heads. The prince being ſo far involved in the plot, it would be dangerous for him to recede: and they,

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juſtly conſidering the improbability of ſucceſs by open force againſt the Imperial power, propoſed the more ſpeedy expedient of aſſaſſinating Jehangire. The propoſal came to the ears of the prince. Though he was bent upon rebellion, he ſtartled at parricide. Nature was rouzed in his breaſt. " My father," ſaid he, " may enjoy life without a throne ; but I can never enjoy a throne ſtained with a father's blood. Let him try the fortune of the field. Let us throw away the daggers of aſſaſſins, and owe our advancement to our ſwords."

The plot diſcovered.

The conſpirators pretended to applaud the noble ſentiments of the prince: but they, from that inſtant, were irreſolute and embarraſſed in their councils. Many, violent at the beginning, now awed by the greatneſs of the undertaking, ſhrunk back from their purpoſe, and began to ſhelter themſelves behind one another. The emperor, in the mean time, was in part informed of the plot. He prepared to ſeize the prince: the latter was apprized of his father's deſigns. By a premature diſcovery, this conſpiracy, like many of the ſame kind, failed. Fear took poſſeſſion of the adherents of Chuſero. He himſelf was afraid. They neglected to execute the daring ſtroke, which their ſituation and ſafety required. They began to remove themſelves from immediate danger, as if the preſent were more to be feared than thoſe which in future they had to oppoſe. They, however, did not altogether relinquiſh their deſigns.

Firſt riſing.

On Monday the eight of Zehidge, ſix months after the acceſſion of Jehangire to the throne of India, near one hundred of the conſpirators aſſembled privately, in the evening, at the tomb of the emperor Akbar. Chuſero having joined them, on pretence of paying his devotions at his grandfather's ſhrine, they proceeded, that very night, toward Delhi. About day-break, next morning, they had reached the city of Muttra, about thirty-eight miles from Agra;

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Agra; and entered the town, when the troops, who garriſoned the place, were on the parade. They halted for refreſhment; and they had the good fortune not to be ſuſpected by the officer who commanded at Muttra. Huſſein Beg Chan Buduchſhi, who had been governor of the province of Cabul during a conſiderable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the emperor, was on his way to court. Having travelled in the night on account of the heat of the weather, he happened to enter the city of Muttra at the oppoſite gate juſt when the prince arrived. They met in the market-place. Chuſero was no ſtranger to the diſcontent of Huſſein; and eſteeming him a great acquiſition to his party, from his known bravery and popularity among the Tartars, who formed a great part of the imperial army, he called him aſide, and having ſounded him, laid open his whole plan. Huſſein being conſcious of no crime againſt the ſtate, thought himſelf highly injured by Jehangire. Poſſeſſed of no property but the ſword, from the generoſity of his diſpoſition, which had laviſhed his fortune upon his friends, he required not much intreaty to eſpouſe the cauſe of the prince.

Chuſero marches to Delhi.

The retinue of Huſſein was but ſmall. It conſiſted of two hundred Tartar horſe, and three hundred Afgan foot. But his military fame was great; and he gave life to the conſpiracy. The prince endeavoured to bring over the governor of Muttra to his party. That officer, perceiving his intentions, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and would liſten to no terms. Chuſero had neither time nor force to reduce him. He contented himſelf with enliſting as many as he could of the inhabitants and garriſon into his ſervice; and, leaving Muttra, continued his route to Delhi.

Ravages the country.

The road between the two great cities of Delhi and Agra being crowded with travellers, and detachments of horſe and foot going

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on different ſervices, the prince forced them to join his ſtandard. Thoſe who refuſed were, without mercy, put to the ſword, after being plundered of all their effects. Small parties of horſe were at the ſame time diſperſed through the country on every ſide; and ſuch as did not immediately take up arms in favour of Chuſero were ſubmitted to military execution, and all the ſeverities of war. Many were compelled to join him, through fear. Others, from the ſame cauſe, fled into the woods; and ſaw from their retreats the ſmoke of their burning houſes, and mourned over their infants and aged parents, who had not ſtrength to avoid the flames. Some more reſolute defended themſelves againſt the rebels, and to their valour owed their lives. The orders of the prince, it muſt be owned, did not extend to ſuch rigour and cruelty. But he found it impoſſible to reſtrain from exceſſes his undiſciplined ſoldiers. He had ſet them an example of wickedneſs by rebellion; and it was not to be expected that they would ſubmit to his commands in favour of humanity and juſtice.

Lays the ſuburbs of Delhi under contributions.

Such was the waſteful progreſs of Chuſero to Delhi. His followers having greatly increaſed their numbers in the march, he laid the ſuburbs of that capital under contribution. The gates being ſhut, the city itſelf was preſerved from pillage. The unfortunate people who lived without the walls, from their delay in raiſing the ſum impoſed upon them, had their houſes conſumed with fire. Many thouſands were ruined. Many, to retrieve their affairs, joined the rebels, to make repriſals upon the world for the loſs which they had ſuſtained.

The emperor purſues Chuſero,

At eleven o'clock of the ſame night on which Chuſero left Agra, his father was informed of his flight by the captain-general, who was ordered to purſue immediately the fugitive. About an hour

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after this officer's departure with a conſiderable body of horſe, the emperor, ſuſpecting his loyalty, diſpatched his commands to him to return. Ferid Bochari, lately raiſed to the dignity of Murtaza Chan, and to the office of paymaſter-general of the forces, was diſpatched upon that ſervice, with an additional number of troops The whole under Ferid amounted to ten thouſand horſe, which greatly retarded his march. Chuſero, of courſe, had the more time to haraſs the country, and to ſtrengthen himſelf. In the morning, as ſoon as day-light appeared, the emperor mounted his horſe; and having aſſembled all the forces in and near Agra, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in the place, marched with a great army toward Delhi. He was, upon the occaſion, heard to repeat a verſe, which implied, " That fortune depended upon expedition more than on counſel; and that his life ſhould be darkened who put off till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day." The undutiful behaviour of a ſon, whom he loved, was a ſevere ſtroke to his mind. He refuſed to eat or drink, or to take reſt for ſome time; and even opium, to which he was much addicted, he declined.

who takes the route of Lahore.

The governor and inhabitants of Delhi, having recovered from the firſt impreſſions which the ſudden arrival and ravages committed by Chuſero had made upon their minds, prepared for a reſolute defence. Some troops, who were ſtationed in different parts of the country, had thrown themſelves into the town. As there was a conſiderable quantity of the Imperial treaſure lodged in the city, as well as the great wealth of private perſons, the intentions of the prince were to have ſurprized Delhi, and to furniſh himſelf with money ſufficient to raiſe an army in the province of Punjâb. But the general terror which his rapacity had excited carried the news of his march before him, and diſappointed his deſigns. Deſpairing of being able to force Delhi to ſurrender before

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before the arrival of the Imperial army, having remained only two days in the ſuburbs, Chuſero took the route of Lahore. Having been, on his march, joined by a great number of men, he attempted, immediately upon his arrival, to take that city by eſcalade. He was repulſed with ſome loſs by the garriſon; and being at the ſame time deſtitute of artillery, he was greatly diſconcerted in his meaſures. He, however, inveſted the place.

He is defeated by Ferid Bochari.

The Imperial troops ſtationed in the province threw themſelves into Lahore. They ſallied out on the beſiegers nine ſucceſſive days, but they were as often repulſed, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind their walls. Chuſero in the mean time had drawn together ſome artillery from ſmall fortreſſes in the neighbourhood, which he had found means to ſurpriſe. Nothing could be effected againſt the place before the arrival of Ferid, the paymaſter-general, with the emperor's advanced guard. The prince, with an army of thirty thouſand horſe and foot, but without order, without diſcipline, marched out of his camp to give battle to Ferid. The garriſon of Lahore perceiving his motions, fell upon his rear. He left a part of his army to oppoſe them: With the remaining part he attacked Ferid. His troops behaved better than their diſcipline ſeemed to promiſe. He expoſed his own perſon. He was at length deſerted; and, preſſing among the thickeſt of the enemy, he found himſelf with only a few of his principal adherents, who bravely fought by his ſide. In this ſituation he was ſurrounded by the Imperialiſts on every ſide. He was perſonally known to them all. They were tender of his life; and, in attempting to take him priſoner, they permitted him to make his eſcape. Great honours were conferred upon Ferid by the emperor, on account of this ſignal victory.

Fluctuating counſels of his adherents.

The unfortunate Chuſero wandered all night through the woods, with a few attendants. His army was all diſperſed. He came in

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the morning to a hut, where, quite overcome by fatigue, he laid himſelf down to reſt. Some of his friends having diſcovered where he lay, aſſembled around him. They began to conſult together on the preſent untoward ſituation of their affairs. They differed in opinion. Such of the chiefs as were natives of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, inſiſted upon taking the route of that quarter of India, by the foot of the northern mountains: they alleged, that the Raja Man Singh, who was then ſuba of Bengal, poſſeſſed great power, which he would not fail to exert in his nephew's cauſe *: that the country was rich and populous: that it was an invariable maxim among the Hindoo princes, never to deſert the intereſt of a ſtranger who ſhould throw himſelf under their protection: Beſides, that the Raja Man Singh joined the affection of a relation to the prince, to the natural faith of his nation to the ſuppliant and unfortunate. The natives of Chandeiſh and Malava were for trying their fortunes in their reſpective provinces. Chan Azim, the late Viſier, father-in-law of Chuſero, was governor of the latter; and they doubted not but he would ſupport the dignity of his own family. They added, that Azim was poſſeſſed of a fine army, provided with artillery, and furniſhed with ſtores.

They diſperſe.

Huſſein Beg, who was in chief confidence with the prince, ſtarted objections to the different plans of his other adherents. He urged the diſtance of the march, and the impoſſibility of forcing their way through countries full of Imperial troops, who would be very active, ſince Fortune had forſaken the ſide of Chuſero. He propoſed that they ſhould continue their route to Cabul; where he himſelf had intereſt ſufficient to arm the whole province, together with his native country Buduchſhân, in favour of the prince.

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* It was cuſtomary with the Mahommedan emperors of Hindoſtan to demand the daughters of Hindoo princes in marriage. The mother of Chuſero was ſiſter to the Raja Man Singh.

Chuſero, during the debate, ſat ſilent. Having at length weighed each opinion, he declared in favour of that of Huſſein; alleging, that the troops of the north were moſt faithful to their chiefs. The obſervation diſpleaſed the other chiefs: they murmured, and left his preſence. They ſaw that their affairs were deſperate, and they reſolved to retreat to their reſpective habitations; covering their fears under a pretended diſguſt at the preference given to the counſel of Huſſein.

He arrives on the banks of of the Attoc;

Chuſero in a few minutes found himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had made him the tool of their ambition and revenge. Reproaches were to no effect. He blamed his adherents for their timidity and perfidy; but he himſelf was not leſs culpable. His mind was agitated with various paſſions. Rage againſt his own folly was the moſt predominant. Huſſein was the only chief of note who remained of the conſpirators. His followers, conſiſting of three hundred horſe, and a few of the prince's menial ſervants, formed their whole retinue. With theſe they ſet out for Cabul. Being forced to depart from the high road, they frequently loſt their way, as they were obliged to travel in the night.

where, for want of boats,

Keeping their courſe through unfrequented paths and by-roads, they at length arrived on the banks of the river Attoc, the largeſt branch of the Indus. It was impaſſable without boats. It was then midnight. They moved down the river to the ferry of Choudera. Finding no boats at that place, though a much frequented paſſage, they underſtood that orders had been ſent to conceal them. The ferryman and villagers were aſleep. It was propoſed to ſeize them, to force them to diſcover where the boats were laid. Some were taken in their beds; others eſcaped, and, with their outcries, alarmed the country. The prince underſtood from thoſe that were taken, that orders from the Imperial camp had two days before been received by the zemindâr of the diſtrict, to ſtop the

paſſage

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paſſage of the river; and that, in obedience to theſe orders, he had ſecreted the boats. Huſſein in the mean time having diſpatched ſome of his followers in queſt of the boats, they found two, filled with wood, in a neighbouring creek. Theſe were unloaded, and brought to the proper place. The zemindâr, being rouzed from ſleep by the noiſe, had come by this time to the banks of the Attoc, attended by a concourſe of people. He called to thoſe who dragged the boats, that he had an Imperial mandate to prohibit all perſons, under pain of death, to croſs the river. They, intimidated by his threats, turned the head of the two boats acroſs the ſtream. The prince's party fired upon them: ſome were killed, others plunged into the river; and a few expert ſwimmers, in the retinue of Chuſero, brought one boat with difficulty to the ſhore.

he is in great diſtreſs.

The banks of the Attoc were in the mean time crowded with the country people. An officer arrived with a hundred horſe to guard the paſſage. Other detachments came gradually in from every quarter. Chuſero and Huſſein reſolved to ſave themſelves in the boat. They placed their horſes in the center, and they themſelves took their ſeats in the ſtern. Their attendants, afraid of being left to the mercy of their enemies, threw themſelves headlong into the veſſel, and almoſt ſunk her. They, however, puſhed her from ſhore; threw ſome overboard, and cut off the hands of others who clung to her ſides: Many were drowned. A few ſlain by the Imperialiſts. This was but the beginning of misfortunes. Moſt of the oars had been loſt in the confuſion; and the rudder, to complete the ruin of the unfortunate Chuſero, had been inadvertently thrown overboard with the wood with which the boat had been found loaded. Theſe inconveniences, joined to a want of ſkill in the rowers, rendered it impoſſible for them to manage the boat. She was carried down the ſtream. The confuſion was great, and danger every moment increaſed.

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He is taken priſoner.

The zemindâr, and the party who guarded the ferry, were not idle. They ſeized upon thoſe left aſhore. They fired at the boat, and followed her down the river. She ſtruck at laſt on a ſand-bank. Some plunged into the water to puſh her off: ſhe remained immoveable. The fire continued. Many were killed. No reſource was left. The ſun was juſt riſing. Caſim Chan, who commanded the party of horſe, ſeeing the unfortunate prince in this unextricable ſituation, ſtopt the fire. Being by this time joined by another officer who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, both mounted their elephants; and, riding in to the bank on which the boat lay, ſeized the prince. Caſim placed him behind him on the elephant, while the other officer ſecured Huſſein. The few that remained of their attendants were carried aſhore in another boat.

His behaviour before his father.

Such was the end of a rebellion begun without any juſt cauſe, concerted without judgment, and carried on with very moderate abilities, by a prince ſcarce more unfortunate than he deſerved to be. The emperor was at the time encamped in a garden near Lahore. He received the news of the ſeizure of the prince with exceſſive joy. He ordered him to be brought before him, with a golden chain from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of his anceſtors, Zingis and Timur. Huſſein, loaded with iron chains, was placed on the right hand of Chuſero; Abdul Rahim, another of the principal rebels, on his left. Jehangire ſternly aſked his ſon, "What could induce thee, Sultan Chuſero, to rebel againſt thy ſovereign and father?" Chuſero was ſilent: the emperor began to relent. He then, in a ſofter tone, queſtioned him about his adviſers and abettors in rebellion. Chuſero burſt into tears His father was ſurprized: for till then he had remained firm. "Father," ſaid the prince, with a broken voice, "my crime is great; but let me ſuffer for it alone. When you

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accuſed me, I was ſenſible of my faults; and, as I was reconciled with the loſs of life, I behaved with dignity. But when you raiſe the remembrance of my friends, I am troubled at their fate. Let them eſcape as they can; I will never become their accuſer."

Execution of his adherents.

Jehangire ſtood ſilent; and, by his preſſing him no farther, ſeemed to applaud his ſentiments. Any information from the prince would be unneceſſary. The conſpirators had impeached one another; and three hundred of the chiefs were already ſeized. The prince was delivered over, in cloſe confinement, into the hands of the paymaſter-general. Huſſein was ſentenced to be ſewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and to be thrown in that condition into the ſtreet. The hide was ſoon contracted by the heat of the ſun; and he expired in a few hours. Abdul Rahim did not ſo eaſily eſcape. Finding that Huſſein was dead ſooner than they expected, thoſe appointed to ſuperintend the executions, kept the aſs's hide in which Rahim was incloſed, conſtantly moiſt with water. He lived for ſeveral days in that miſerable condition. Three hundred pales in the mean time were ſet up in two rows along the public road. The rebels, to that number, were drawn alive on the pales. Chuſero was brought every day, as long as any of the unhappy wretches breathed, under their tortures, to view the horrid ſight. He was led in chains through the midſt of them, whilſt he watered the ground with his tears. Some of them had been his deareſt companions; others his faithful ſervants, who had followed his fortunes, merely to ſhew their fidelity to a maſter whom they loved.

Candahar inveſted by the Perſians.

Theſe barbarous executions were ſcarce over at Lahore, when news was brought to the Imperial camp, that the Perſians had inveſted Candahar with a numerous army; that Shaw Beg, the governor of that city and province, had, by his raſhneſs, ſuffered

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a very conſiderable loſs in a ſally; yet that he continued, without any neceſſity, to expoſe the garriſon. His conduct could only be accounted for by an abſurdity bordering on madneſs. He was as careleſs of his own life as he was of his duty. Diſſolute beyond example, he ordered an awning to be ſpread over the gate-way moſt expoſed to the enemy's fire. He ſat under it all day, converſing with common proſtitutes, whom, much againſt their inclination, he forced to attend him. The emperor, fearing more from his negligence and debauchery, than he hoped from his fidelity and courage, ſent Sirdir Chan, an old Omrah, to ſuperſede him in his government, with orders to defend Candahar to the laſt extremity. Ghazi Chan, an officer of great reputation, was, at the ſame time, diſpatched with twenty-five thouſand horſe, to haraſs the enemy. Jehangire himſelf, with the remaining part of the Imperial army, marched to Cabul.

The ſiege raiſed.

Ghazi had ſcarce advanced within ſix days march of Candahar, when the Perſians raiſed the ſiege, and retreated towards Choraſſan. No reaſon could be aſſigned for theſe hoſtilities on the ſide of Perſia, except the favourable opportunity offered, by the rebellion of Chuſero, for ſeizing the city of Candahar, which was, in ſome meaſure, the key to the Perſian empire. Shaw Abas of Perſia pretended, that his lieutenants in the provinces of Seiſtan and Choraſſan had taken this ſtep without his orders; and that it was his poſitive commands which raiſed the ſiege.

A peace with Perſia.

Jehangire placed little faith in the profeſſions of Abas; being ſatisfied, that the death of Akbar, and the rebellion of Chuſero, were the true motives of the invaſion. He, however, admitted the excuſes of the Perſian, which were brought by his ambaſſador Huſſein. Several ſmall forts near Candahar, which had been taken by the Perſians, were evacuated, and peace between the two

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A conſpiracy. Sultan Chuſero was ſtill in cloſe confinement, which his active and vehement diſpoſition could very ill endure. The uſage he met with deprived him of every hope of a reconciliation with his father. The marks of affection ſhewn by the emperor to his younger ſons, Purvez and Churrum, confirmed the ſuſpicions of Chuſero. It was alſo currently reported, that Jehangire was to appoint one of the two favoured princes, his ſucceſſor. Nothing but diſappointment, and even death, preſented to Chuſero's mind. His friends were ſtill numerous in the army. He ſounded them, by his emiſſaries: ſome moved by his misfortunes, many in love with novelty, began to form treaſonable deſigns againſt the emperor's life. It was concerted to fall upon Jehangire at the chace, and, having diſpatched him, to raiſe Chuſero, from his priſon to the throne.

Diſcovered. Some writers doubt, whether Chuſero was at all privy to this conſpiracy: others deny the whole. The firſt argue from the humanity of Chuſero; the latter ſay, that it was a fiction of Sultan Churrum, third ſon of Jehangire. This much is certain, that the firſt intelligence of the conſpiracy came, through prince Churrum, to the emperor's ears. He informed his father, that five hundred of the nobility were engaged in a plot againſt his life. Jehangire was ſtartled, and knew not how to act: he conſidered, that, ſhould he ſeize ſome, the reſt would be alarmed; and that danger might ariſe from their power. As it was difficult, therefore, to ſecure them all at once, he thought it moſt prudent to ſend all on different ſervices. Four of the principals he reſerved, whom he ordered to be ſeized. They were tried for treaſon; ſufficient proofs could not be found. They were kept in confinement: Chuſero was more narrowly watched; and became daily more and more obnoxious to his father.

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CHAP. II.

Diſturbances in Bengal—Story of Chaja Aiaſs—His flight from Tartary—Diſtreſs in the deſart—Birth of the Sultana Noor-Mâhil—Marriage with Shere Afkun—Perſecution—and murder of that Omrah—Her marriage with the emperor—Promotion of her family.

Diſturbances in Bengal.

JEHANGIRE, having reſettled the affairs of the provinces to the north-weſt of the Indus, marched toward the capital. When he was croſſing the Attoc, letters were received from Iſlam Chan, governor of Behâr, with intelligence, that Shere Afkun, a native of Turkomania, who commanded in the diſtrict of Burdwan, had, with his own hand, killed Kuttub-ul-dien Koka, Suba of Bengal, together with ſeveral other officers, who had ſet upon Shere Afkun, with an intention to aſſaſſinate him. Jehangire was much afflicted at the death of his favourite Kuttub; but he derived ſome comfort from the Suba's ſucceſs againſt the life of Shere Afkun. The circumſtances of the unhappy fate of this chief are in themſelves extraordinary; and the knowledge of them is neceſſary for elucidating the ſequel of the hiſtory of Jehangire. To trace things to their ſource, we muſt, for ſome time, loſe ſight of the unfortunate Shere.

Story of Chaja Aiaſs.

About twenty years before this period, Chaja Aiaſs, a native of the weſtern Tartary, left that country to puſh his fortune in Hindoſtan. He was deſcended of an ancient and noble family, fallen into decay by various revolutions of fortune. He, however, had received a good education, which was all his parents could beſtow. Falling in love with a young woman, as poor as himſelf, he married her; but he found it difficult to provide for her the very neceſſaries of life. Reduced to the laſt extremity, he turned his thoughts upon India, the uſual reſource of the needy Tartars of the north. He left privately friends, who either would not or could not aſſiſt him, and turned his face to a foreign country. His all conſiſted of one ſorry horſe, and a very ſmall ſum of money, which had proceeded from the ſale of his other effects. Placing his wife upon the horſe, he walked by her ſide. She happened to be with child, and could ill endure the fatigue of ſo great a journey. Their ſcanty pittance of money was ſoon expended: they had even ſubſiſted, for ſome days, upon charity, when they arrived on the ſkirts of the Great Solitudes, which ſeparate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur, in India. No houſe was there to cover them from the inclemency of the weather; no hand to relieve their wants. To return, was certain miſery; to proceed, apparent deſtruction.

His diſtreſs

They had faſted three days: to complete their misfortunes, the wife of Aiaſs was taken in labour. She began to reproach her huſband for leaving his native country at an unfortunate hour; for exchanging a quiet, though poor life, for the ideal proſpect of wealth in a diſtant country. In this diſtreſſed ſituation ſhe brought forth a daughter. They remained in the place for ſome hours, with a vain hope that travellers might paſs that way. They were diſappointed. Human feet ſeldom tread theſe deſarts: the ſun declined a-pace. They feared the approach of night: the place was the haunt of wild beaſts; and ſhould they eſcape their hunger, they muſt fall by their own. Chaja Aiaſs, in this extremity, having placed his wife on the horſe, found himſelf ſo much exhauſted that he could ſcarcely move. To carry the child was impoſſible: the mother could not even hold herſelf faſt on the horſe. A long conteſt began between Humanity and Neceſſity: the latter prevailed, and they agreed to expoſe the child on the high-way. The infant, covered with leaves, was placed under a tree; and the diſconſolate parents proceeded in tears.

in the deſart.

When they had advanced about a mile from the place, and the eyes of the mother could no longer diſtinguiſh the ſolitary tree under which ſhe had left her daughter, ſhe gave way to grief; and throwing herſelf from the horſe on the ground, exclaimed, "My child! my child!" She endeavoured to raiſe herſelf; but ſhe had no ſtrength to return. Aiaſs was pierced to the heart. He prevailed upon his wife to ſit down. He promiſed to bring her the infant. He arrived at the place. No ſooner had his eyes reached the child, than he was almoſt ſtruck dead with horror. A black ſnake, ſay our authors, was coiled around it; and Aiaſs believed he beheld him extending his fatal jaws to devour the infant. The father ruſhed forward. The ſerpent, alarmed at his vociferation, retired into the hollow tree. He took up his daughter unhurt, and returned to the mother. He gave her child into her arms; and, as he was informing her of the wonderful eſcape of the infant, ſome travellers appeared, and ſoon relieved them of all their wants. They proceeded gradually and came to Lahore.

His arrival, and good fortune at Lahore.

The emperor Akbar, at the arrival of Aiaſs, kept his court at Lahore. Aſiph Chan, one of that monarch's principal Omrahs, attended then the preſence. He was a diſtant relation to Aiaſs, and he received him with attention and friendſhip. To employ him, he made him his own ſecretary. Aiaſs ſoon recommended himſelf to Aſiph in that ſtation; and, by ſome accident, his diligence and ability attracted the notice of the emperor, who raiſed him to the command of a thouſand horſe. He became, in proceſs of time, maſter of the houſehold; and his genius being ſtill greater than even his good fortune, he raiſed himſelf to the office and title of Actimâd-ul-Dowla, or high treaſurer of the empire. Thus he, who had almoſt periſhed through mere want in the deſert, became, in the ſpace of a few years, the firſt ſubject in India.

Character of his daughter Mher-ul-Niſſa.

The daughter, who had been born to Aiaſs in the deſert, received, ſoon after his arrival at Lahore, the name of Mher-ul-Niſſa, or the Sun of Women. She had ſome right to the appellation; for in beauty ſhe excelled all the ladies of the Eaſt. She was educated with the utmoſt care and attention. In muſic, in dancing, in poetry, in painting, ſhe had no equal among her ſex. Her diſpoſition was volatile, her wit lively and ſatirical, her ſpirit lofty and uncontrouled. Selim, the prince-royal, viſited one day her father. When the public entertainment was over, when all, except the principal gueſts, were withdrawn, and wine was brought on the table, the ladies, according to cuſtom, were introduced in their veils.

She captivates Sultan Selim:

The ambition of Mher-ul-Niſſa aſpired to a conqueſt of the prince. She ſung—he was in raptures: ſhe danced—he could hardly be reſtrained, by the rules of decency, to his place. Her ſtature, her ſhape, her gait, had raiſed his ideas of her beauty to the higheſt pitch. When his eyes ſeemed to devour her, ſhe, as by accident, dropt her veil; and ſhone upon him, at once, with all her charms. The confuſion, which ſhe could well feign, on the occaſion, heightened the beauty of her face. Her timid eye by ſtealth fell upon the prince, and kindled all his ſoul into love. He was ſilent for the remaining part of the evening: ſhe endeavoured to confirm, by her wit, the conqueſt which the charms of her perſon had made.

Marries Shere Afkun;

Selim, diſtracted with his paſſion, knew not what courſe to take. Mher-ul-Niſſa had been betrothed, by her father, to Shere Afkun, a Turkomanian nobleman of great renown. He applied to his father Akbar, who ſternly refuſed to commit a piece of injuſtice, though in favour of the heir of his throne. The prince retired abaſhed; and Mher-ul-Niſſa became the wife of Shere Afkun. The latter, however, ſuffered in his proſpects in life, for not having made a voluntary reſignation of the lady to the enamoured prince. Though Selim durſt make no open attack upon his fortunate rival, during the life of Akbar, men in office worſhipped the riſing ſun, and threw accumulated diſgrace on Shere Afkun. He became diſguſted, and left the court of Agra. He retired into the province of Bengal, and obtained from the Suba of that country, the ſuperintendency of the diſtrict of Burdwan.

who is perſecuted by Selim.

The paſſion for Mher-ul-Niſſa, which Selim had repreſſed from a reſpect and fear for his father, returned with redoubled violence when he himſelf mounted the throne of India. He was now abſolute; no ſubject could thwart his will and pleaſure. He recalled Shere Afkun from his retreat. He was, however, afraid to go ſo much againſt the current of the public opinion, as to deprive that Omrah of his wife. Shere was inflexible: no man of honour in India can part with his ſpouſe, and retain his life. His incredible ſtrength and bravery had rendered Shere extremely popular. He was naturally high-ſpirited and proud; and it was not to be expected, that he would yield to indignity and public ſhame.—His family, his former reputation was high.—Born of noble parents in Turkomania, he had ſpent his youth in Perſia; and had ſerved, with uncommon renown, Shaw Iſmaël the third of the Sufvi line. His original name was Aſta Jillô, but having killed a lion, he was dignified with the title of Shere Afkun, or the Overthrower of the Lion. Under the latter name he became famous in India. In the wars of Akbar, he had ſerved with great reputation. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in a particular manner, under Chan Chanan, at the taking of Sind, by exhibiting prodigies of perſonal ſtrength and valour. Preferments had been heaped upon him; and he was highly eſteemed at court, during the life of Akbar, who loved in others that daring intrepidity for which he himſelf was renowned.

He is called to court.

Jehangire kept his court at Delhi, when he called Shere Afkun to the preſence. He received him graciouſly, and conferred new honours upon him. Shere Afkun, naturally open and generous, ſuſpected not the emperor's intentions. Time, he thought, had erazed the memory of Mher-ul-Niſſa from Jehangire's mind. He was deceived. The monarch was reſolved to remove his rival; but the means he uſed were, at once, fooliſh and diſgraceful. He appointed a day for hunting; and ordered the haunt of an enormous tiger to be explored. News was ſoon brought, that a tiger of an extraordinary ſize was diſcovered in the foreſt of Nidarbari. This ſavage, it was ſaid, had carried off many of the largeſt oxen from the neighbouring villages. The emperor directed thither his march, attended by Shere Afkun, and ſeveral thouſands of his principal officers, with all their trains. Having, according to the cuſtom of the Mogul Tartars, ſurrounded the ground for many miles, they began to move toward the center, on all ſides. The tiger was rouzed. His roaring was heard in all quarters: and the emperor haſtened to the place.

He attacks,

The nobility being aſſembled, Jehangire called aloud, "Who "among you will advance ſingly and attack this tiger?" They looked on one another in ſilence: then all turned their eyes on Shere Afkun. He ſeemed not to underſtand their meaning: at length three Omrahs ſtarted forth from the circle, and ſacrificing fear to ſhame, fell at the emperor's feet, and begged permiſſion to try ſingly their ſtrength againſt the formidable animal. The pride of Shere Afkun aroſe. He had imagined, that none durſt attempt a deed ſo dangerous. He hoped, that after the refuſal of the nobles, the honour of the enterprize would devolve in courſe on his hands. But three had offered themſelves for the combat: and they were bound in honour to inſiſt on their prior right. Afraid of loſing his former renown, Shere Afkun began thus in the preſence: "To attack an animal with weapons is both "unmanly and unfair. God has given to man limbs and ſinews "as well as to tigers: he has added reaſon to the former to conduct "his ſtrength." The other Omrahs objected in vain, "That "all men were inferior to the tiger in ſtrength; and that he could "be overcome only with ſteel." "I will convince you of your "miſtake," Shere Afkun replied: and, throwing down his ſword and ſhield, prepared to advance unarmed.

and kills an enormous tiger.

Though the emperor was, in ſecret, pleaſed with a propoſal full of danger to Shere, he made a ſhew of diſſuading him from the enterprize. Shere was determined. The monarch, with feigned reluctance, yielded. Men knew not whether they ought moſt to admire the courage of the man, or to exclaim againſt the folly of the deed. Aſtoniſhment was painted in every face. Every tongue was ſilent. Writers give a particular, but incredible detail of the battle between Shere Afkun and the tiger. This much is certain, that, after a long and obſtinate ſtruggle, the aſtoniſhing warrior prevailed; and, though mangled with wounds himſelf, laid at laſt the ſavage dead at his feet. The thouſands who were eye-witneſſes of the action, were even almoſt afraid to vouch for the truth of the exploit, with their concurring teſtimony. The fame of Shere was increaſed; and the deſigns of the emperor failed. But the determined cruelty of the latter ſtopt not here: other means of death were contrived againſt the unfortunate Shere.

Defeats a deſign againſt his life.

He had ſcarce recovered from his wounds, when he came to pay his reſpects at court. He was careſſed by the emperor; and he ſuſpected no guile. A ſnare, however, was prepared for him. Jehangire had meanly condeſcended to give private orders to the rider of one of his largeſt elephants to waylay his rival, in one of the narrow ſtreets, when he next ſhould return to court, and there to tread him to death. As accidents of that kind ſometimes happen, from the rage of thoſe animals in the rutting ſeaſon, the thing might have paſſed without ſuſpicion. Shere was carried in his palanky. He ſaw the elephant in his way. He gave orders to the bearers to return back: the elephant came forward. They threw the palanky, with their maſter, in the ſtreet, and fled to ſave their lives. Shere ſaw his danger. He had juſt time to riſe. He drew a ſhort ſword, which always hung by his ſide: with this weapon he ſtruck the elephant acroſs the root of the trunk, which he cut off with one blow. The animal roared, turned from him, fell down and expired. The emperor was looking out at a window. He retired with amazement and ſhame. Shere continued his way to the palace. Without any ſuſpicion of treachery, he related the particulars to Jehangire. The latter diſguiſed his ſentiments, but relinquiſhed not his deſigns. He praiſed the ſtrength and valour of Shere, who retired ſatisfied and unſuſpecting from the preſence.

Diſcomfits

Whether the emperor endeavoured to conquer his paſſion for Mher-ul-Niſſa, or felt remorſe from his own behaviour, is uncertain; but, for the ſpace of ſix months, no further attempts were made againſt the life of Shere, who now retired to the capital of Bengal. The former deſigns of Jehangire were no ſecret. They were the ſubject of common converſation, little to the advantage of the character of a great prince. Abſolute monarchs, however, are never without men who flatter their worſt paſſions, and adminiſter to their moſt pernicious pleaſures. Kuttub, Suba of Bengal, was one of theſe convenient ſycophants. To ingratiate himſelf with the emperor, though perhaps not by his expreſs commands, he hired forty ruffians, to attack and murder Shere, when an opportunity ſhould offer. Shere was apprized of the intentions of Kuttub. He continued within doors: but ſuch was his confidence in his own ſtrength and valour, that at night he would not permit his ſervants to remain in his houſe. They, according to cuſtom, retired each to his own home. An old porter only remained of the men ſervants, under the ſame roof with Shere. The aſſaſſins were no ſtrangers to a circumſtance common in India. They made their obſervations upon the houſe. They found that there was a room, on the right hand, within the the principal door, which Shere uſed, as a writing-chamber. This room communicated, by a narrow paſſage, with the ſleeping apartments. When it was dark, they took advantage of the old porter's abſence, and conveyed themſelves, without diſcovery, into the houſe:

forty aſſaſſins.

The principal door being bolted at the uſual hour, Shere and his family went to bed. Some of the aſſaſſins, when they thought

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he was fallen aſleep, ſtole ſilently into his apartment. They prepared to plunge their daggers into his body, when one of them, who was an old man, being touched with remorſe, cried out with a loud voice: "Hold! have we not the emperor's orders? Let "us behave like men. Shall forty fall upon one, and that one "aſleep!" "Boldly ſpoken," ſaid Shere; ſtarting that inſtant from his bed. Seizing his ſword, he placed himſelf in a corner of the room. There he was attacked by the aſſaſſins. In a few minutes, many of the villains lay, weltering in their blood, at his feet. Scarce one half eſcaped without a wound. The old man, who had given warning, did not attempt to fly. Shere took him by the hand, praiſed and thanked him for his behaviour, and, having enquired about thoſe who had hired the aſſaſſins, diſmiſſed him, with handſome preſents, to relate the particulars abroad.

He is murdered.

The fame of this gallant exploit reſounded through the whole empire. Shere could not ſtir abroad for the mob, who preſſed around him. He, however, thought proper to retire from the capital of Bengal, to his old reſidence at Burdwan. He hoped to live there in obſcurity and ſafety, with his beloved Mher-ul-Niſſa. He was deceived. The Suba of Bengal had received his government, for the purpoſe of removing the unfortunate Shere; and he was not ungrateful. After deliberating with himſelf about the means, he, at laſt, fell upon an effectual expedient. Settling the affairs of his government at Tanda, which was, at that time, the capital of Bengal, he reſolved, with a great retinue, to make the tour of the dependent provinces. In his rout he came to Burdwan. He made no ſecret to his principal officers, that he had the emperor's orders for diſpatching Shere. That devoted Omrah, hearing that the Suba was entering the town in which he reſided, mounted his horſe, and, with two ſervants only, went to pay his reſpects. The Suba received Shere with affected politeneſs. They rode, for ſome time, ſide by ſide; and their converſation turned upon indifferent affairs. The Suba ſuddenly ſtopt. He ordered his elephant of ſtate to be brought; which he mounted, under a pretence of appearing with becoming pomp in the city of Burdwan. Shere ſtood ſtill, when the Suba was aſcending; and one of the pikemen, pretending that Shere was in the way, ſtruck his horſe, and began to drive him before him. Shere was enraged at the affront. He knew that the pikeman durſt not have uſed that freedom without his maſter's orders: he ſaw plainly, that there was a laid deſign againſt his life. He turned round upon the pikeman; and threatened him with inſtant death. He fell on the ground and begged for mercy. Swords were drawn. Shere had no time to loſe. He ſpurred his horſe up to the elephant, on which the Suba was mounted; and having broke down the amari or caſtle, cut him in two; and thus the unfortunate Kuttub became the victim of his own zeal to pleaſe the emperor. Shere did not reſt here: he turned his ſword on the other officers. The firſt that fell by his hands, was Aba Chan, a native of Caſhmire; who was an Omrah of five thouſand horſe. Four other nobles ſhared the ſame fate. A death attended every blow from the hand of Shere. The remaining chiefs were at once aſtoniſhed and frightened. They fled to a diſtance, and formed a circle around him. Some began to gall him with arrows; others to fire with their muſquets. His horſe, at length, being ſhot with a ball in the forehead, fell under him. The unfortunate Shere, reduced to the laſt extremity, began to upbraid them with cowardice. He invited them ſeverally to ſingle combat; but he begged in vain. He had already received ſome wounds. He plainly ſaw his approaching fate. Turning his face toward Mecca, he took up ſome duſt with his hand; and, for want of water, threw it, by way of ablution, upon his head. He then ſtood up, ſeemingly unconcerned. Six balls entered his body, in different places, before he fell. His enemies had ſcarce the courage to come near, till they ſaw him in the laſt agonies of death. They praiſed his valour to the ſkies: but in adding to his reputation, they took away from their own.

Mher-ul-Niſſa

The officer, who ſucceeded the deceaſed Suba in the command of the troops, haſtened to the houſe of Shere. He was afraid that Mher-ul-Niſſa, in the firſt paroxiſms of grief, might make away with herſelf. That lady, however, bore her misfortunes with more fortitude and reſignation. She was unwilling to adopt the manners of her country, upon ſuch tragical occaſions. She even pretended, in vindication of her apparent inſenſibility, to follow the injunctions of her deceaſed lord. She alleged that Shere, foreſeeing his own fall by Jehangire, had conjured her to yield to the deſires of that monarch without heſitation. The reaſons, which ſhe ſaid, he gave, were as feeble as the fact itſelf was improbable. He was afraid that his own exploits would ſink into oblivion, without they were connected with the remarkable event of giving an empreſs to India.

ill-received at court.

Mher-ul-Niſſa was ſent, with all imaginable care, to Delhi. She was full of the ambition of becoming the favourite Sultana. Her vanity was diſappointed. Though ſhe was received with great tenderneſs and affection, by Rokiä Sultana Begum, the emperor's mother, Jehangire refuſed to ſee her. Whether his mind was then fixed on another object, or remorſe had taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul, authors do not agree. They, however, aſſert, with great improbability, that the emperor was ſo much affected with the death of his favourite, the Suba of Bengal, that he reſolved to puniſh Mher-ul-Niſſa, for an accident in which ſhe had no concern. Be that as it will, he gave orders to ſhut her up in one of the worſt apartments of the ſeraglio. He even would not deign to ſee her; and, contrary to his uſual munificence to women, he allowed her but fourteen anas, about two ſhillings of our money, a-day, for the ſubſiſtance of herſelf and ſome female ſlaves. This coldneſs to a woman whom he paſſionately loved when not in his power, was at once unaccountable and abſurd.

Not ſeen by the emperor,

Mher-ul-Niſſa was a woman of a haughty ſpirit, and could not brook this treatment. She had no remedy. She gave herſelf up, for ſome time, to grief, as if for the death of her huſband; but it was diſappointment only that preyed upon her mind. She was at length reconciled to her condition, from a hope of an opportunity of re-kindling the emperor's former love. She truſted to the amazing power of her own beauty; which, to conquer, required only to be ſeen. The emperor's mother, who was deeply intereſted for Mher-ul-Niſſa, could not prevail upon her ſon to ſee her. He turned away from her in ſilence, when ſhe ſpoke of the widow of Shere. An expedient, however, offered itſelf to Mher-ul-Niſſa. To raiſe her own reputation in the ſeraglio, and to ſupport herſelf and ſlaves with more decency, than the ſcanty pittance allowed her would admit, ſhe called forth her invention and taſte in working ſome admirable pieces of tapeſtry and embroidery, in painting ſilks with exquiſite delicacy, and in inventing female ornaments of every kind. Theſe articles were carried, by her ſlaves, to the different ſquares of the royal ſeraglio, and to the harams of the great officers of the empire. The inventions of Mher-ul-Niſſa excelled ſo much in their kind, that they were bought with the greateſt avidity. Nothing was faſhionable among the ladies of Delhi and Agra, but the work of her hands. She accumulated, by theſe means, a conſiderable ſum of money, with which ſhe repaired and beautified her apartments,

ments, and clothed her ſlaves in the richeſt tiſſues and brocades, while ſhe herſelf affected a very plain and ſimple dreſs.

till the end of four years.

In this ſituation the widow of Shere continued four years, without once having ſeen the emperor. Her fame reached his ears from every apartment in the ſeraglio. Curioſity at length vanquiſhed his reſolution. He determined to be an eye-witneſs of the things which he had ſo often heard, concerning Mher-ul-Niſſa. He reſolved to ſurprize her: and communicating his reſolution to none, he ſuddenly entered her apartments, where he found every thing ſo elegant and magnificent, that he was ſtruck with amazement. But the greateſt ornament of the whole was Mher-ul-Niſſa herſelf. She lay half reclined, on an embroidered ſopha, in a plain muſlin dreſs. Her ſlaves ſat in a circle round her, at work, attired in rich brocades. She ſlowly aroſe, in manifeſt confuſion; and received the emperor with the uſual ceremony of touching firſt the ground, then her forehead with her right hand. She did not utter one word; but ſtood with her eyes fixed on the ground. Jehangire remained for ſome time ſilent. He admired her ſhape, her ſtature, her beauty, her grace; and that inexpreſſible voluptuouſneſs of mein, which it is impoſſible to reſiſt.

Her nuptials with Jehangire.

Jehangire did not, for ſome time, recover from his confuſion. He at length ſat down on the ſopha, and requeſted Mher-ul-Niſſa to ſit by his ſide. The firſt queſtion he aſked, was, "Why "this difference between the appearance of Mher-ul-Niſſa and "her ſlaves?" She very ſhrewdly replied, "Thoſe born to ſervi-"tude muſt dreſs as it ſhall pleaſe thoſe whom they ſerve. Theſe "are my ſervants; and I alleviate the burden of bondage b very "indulgence in my power. But I that am your ſlave, O Em-

“ peror of the Moguls, muſt dreſs according to your pleaſure and “ not my own.” Though this anſwer was a kind of ſarcaſm on his behaviour, it was ſo pertinent and well turned, that it greatly pleaſed Jehangire. He took her at once in his arms. His former affection returned, with all its violence; and the very next day, public orders were iſſued to prepare a magnificent feſtival, for the celebration of his nuptials with Mher-ul-Niſſa. Her name was alſo changed by an edict into Noor-Mâhil, or the Light of the Seraglio. The emperor's former favourites vaniſhed before her; and during the reſt of the reign of Jehangire, ſhe bore the chief ſway in all the affairs of the empire.

Promotion of her family.

The great power of Noor-Mâhil appeared, for the firſt time, in the immediate advancement of her family. Her father, who, in the latter end of the reign of Akbar, had been chief treaſurer of the empire, was raiſed to the office of abſolute viſier and firſt miniſter. Ferid Bochari, who, under the title of Mortaza Chan, managed the affairs of the empire, had been, by a ſtroke of the palſy, rendered unfit for buſineſs, which opened the way for the promotion of the Actemâd-ul-Dowlat. The two brothers of Noor-Mâhil were raiſed to the firſt rank of nobility, by the titles of Acticâd Chan and Aſiph Jah. Her numerous relations poured in from Tartary, upon hearing of the fortune of the houſe of Aiaſs. Some of them were gratified with high employments, all with lucrative ones. Her father was not dazzled with the ſplendor of his high ſtation. He was a man of probity in private life, of ability in office. He became a great and good miniſter. His name is revered to this day in Hindoſtan. The talents of her brothers were rather popular than great. They behaved with honour and moderation upon every occaſion; ſtrangers to inſolence, and enemies to oppreſſion. The invidiouſneſs of their ſituation did not raiſe envy. Men allowed, that merit intitled them more to their high ſtations, than their relation to the favourite Sultana. The writers of the affairs of Hindoſtan remark, That no family ever roſe ſo ſuddenly, or ſo deſervedly, to rank and eminence, than the family of Chaja Aiaſs; and this is our apology for the minute relation of their progreſs to greatneſs.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. III.

Prudent adminiſtration—Inſurrections quelled—Bad ſucceſs in the Decan—Emperor's progreſs to Ajmere.—Peace with the Rana—Prince Churrum in favour—Character of Sultan Purvez—An Engliſh ambaſſador—His reception at Ajmere—Tranſactions at court—Power of the Sultana—Progreſs to Mando—To Guzerat—The emperor's return to Agra—Death and character of the Viſier.

Prudent adminiſtration.

THE charms of the Sultana eſtranged the mind of Jehangire from all public affairs. Eaſy in his temper, and naturally voluptuous, the powers of his ſoul were locked up in a pleaſing enthuſiaſm of love, by the engaging converſation and extraordinary beauty of Noor-Mâhil. The ſtate, however, did not ſuffer from the negligent indolence of the emperor. An ample field was left for the virtues and abilities of the new viſier; who turned his attention more to domeſtic improvement than to foreign conqueſt. Agriculture, which had been much neglected, was encouraged. Many provinces, deſolated by former diſturbances and wars, were, by degrees, repeopled and cultivated. Security of property was given to the farmer; the induſtry of the mechanic was protected. The country aſſumed a new face: the uſeful arts were revived and flouriſhed in the cities. The viſier even extended his improvements to deſarts. Foreſts, formerly the haunts of wild beaſts, were cut down; and villages and towns

began

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began to riſe in ſolitudes. Inſurrection and rebellion were not heard of, becauſe there was no oppreſſion: idleneſs being diſcouraged, robberies were things unknown. The revenues of the empire gradually increaſed: to prevent extortion in the collection, every Suba was obliged to tranſmit monthly to court, a ſtate of the improvements and regulations made, in conſequence of public inſtructions from Agra. When the improvements were not adequate to the taxes, the Subas were either ſeverely reprimanded, or degraded. No diſtinctions were made, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, between the Mahommedan and Hindoo. Both were worſhippers of God, each in his way; both members of the ſame community, and ſubjects of the ſame lord.

Afgans rebel.

When the father of the Sultana was thus employed, in internal regulations for the good of the empire, new commotions aroſe near its northern frontier. The Afgans, a fierce and untractable people, natives of the mountains beyond the Indus, always thirſting after ſlaughter and plunder, could not long endure peace. Theſe barbarians were encouraged to inſurrection, by the abſence of Shaw Bec Chan, Suba of Cabul, from the capital of the province of that name. The Suba had been obliged to make a journey northward, to ſettle ſome affairs on the frontiers; and Majin-ul-Muluc, the deputy-governor of Cabul, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized in the city by the inſurgents. They entered Cabul, with a conſiderable army, and began to exerciſe all the cruelties of war. The inhabitants, rendered deſperate by misfortune, took arms againſt the plunderers. The city became a ſcene of ſlaughter and diſtreſs. Nadili Meidani, a gallant man, and an officer of rank in the province, haſtened to the relief of Cabul. Some of the banditti fled: many were put to the ſword. The fugitives were purſued to their mountains, and the rebellion quaſhed. Theſe tranſactions happened in the month of Siffer, of the ſixth year of Jehangire.

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An inſurrection in Bengal.

An inſurrection happened in Bengal toward the cloſe of the ſame year. Aſman, an Afgan, deſcended of the race of the Patan princes, who reigned in India before the empire fell under the dominion of the houſe of Timur, ſtirred up a rebellion. He had formerly made many attempts to recover the throne of his fathers; but this was his moſt formidable and reſolute effort. Sujait, an officer of rank, was diſpatched againſt the rebel by Iſlam Chan, Suba of Bengal. Both armies ſoon came to an action. Sujait was on the point of being defeated. He drove his elephant, as the laſt reſort of deſpair, through the thickeſt of the enemy, in ſearch of Aſman, who was mounted on a horſe. The elephant having ſeized the horſe, daſhed him and his rider againſt the ground; but when the animal was about to tread the unfortunate Aſman under his feet, one of his attendants came and wounded the elephant in the trunk. The elephant, with the pain of the wound, plunged in ſuch a manner, that Sujait was thrown off, and fell headlong on the ground. His life was ſaved by his men; who ſeeing him expoſing his perſon, became leſs careful about their own. In their effort to extricate their chief, they repulſed the enemy. Aſman, bruiſed with his fall, was carried back to his tent, where he ſoon after expired. His death gave the victory to Sujait, and quaſhed the rebellion in Bengal. Sujait, for this ſignal ſervice, was raiſed by the emperor to the title of Ruſtum Zimân, which ſignifies the Hercules of the Age.

Another in Behâr.

The inſurrection in Bengal was ſcarce quelled, when another of a more extraordinary nature happened in the neighbouring province of Behâr. A man of low degree, whoſe name was

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Cuttub, deſcended of the Rohilla tribe of Afgans, and a native of Atcha, found his way to Behâr. That province was poſſeſſed by a number of his nation, who had ſettled there under the Patan empire. He affirmed that he was the prince Chuſero, the reigning emperor's ſon; and he accompanied his impoſture with a probable ſtory of his eſcape from priſon. The misfortunes of Chuſero had rendered him popular. Many believed the tale. Many, in love with innovation and ſpoil, joined the ſtandard of Cuttub. He numbered, in leſs than a week, ſeven thouſand among his followers. He aſſumed immediately the Imperial titles, and advanced, with his motley army of banditti, toward Patna, the capital of the province of Behâr. Aſſil Chan, the Suba of the province, was abſent at Gazipoor, about one hundred and twenty miles from Patna; and his deputy commanded in the city, when Cuttub appeared before it.

Quaſhed.

The city of Patna was too large and ill-garriſoned with troops to make any defence. Cuttub entered it, with little oppoſition. He took poſſeſſion of the palace, women, and wealth of the Suba; and, giving up Patna to plunder, divided the ſpoil among his adherents. Some, who were no ſtrangers to the perſon of Sultan Chuſero, endeavoured to expoſe the impoſture. They ſuffered for their raſhneſs, and were put to death. Some, conſcious of the impoſition, were afraid to own their folly; and, having gone ſo far, were unwilling and aſhamed to recede. Aſſil himſelf, at firſt, gave ſome credit to a report brought from all quarters. He knew not how to behave. He affected the party of Chuſero; and he feared the emperor. Ten days after Patna was ſurprized by Cuttub, Aſſil was convinced, by various letters, that the leader of the inſurrection was not the prince. He haſtened from Gazipoor, with all the forces he could collect. On the third day he preſented himſelf before Patna. Cuttub marched out and gave him battle. The inſurgents were defeated and fled. In the hurry of their flight they neglected to ſhut the gates; and the enemy entered at their heels. The pretended prince, driven to the laſt extremity, ſhut himſelf up, with a few friends, in the Suba's houſe. He defended himſelf for ſome time. Aſſil, having loſt twenty men in endeavouring to ſcale the walls, was ſo fortunate as to kill the impoſtor with a brick-bat; and thus a ridiculous kind of death put an end to the ambitious views of Cuttub.

Prince Purvez ſent againſt the Rana.

Intelligence of this inſurrection arrived at the court of Agra, at the ſame time with the news of its being quelled. Freſh diſturbances broke out in a different corner of the empire. Amar Sinka, prince of Odipour, in the Decan, ſetting ſuddenly upon the Imperial troops on the frontier, defeated them. The action happened near the city of Brampour, among the mountains of Balagat. The emperor was alarmed. He placed his ſecond ſon, Purvez, at the head of thirty thouſand horſe; and gave him, at the ſame time, a commiſſion to take the command of all the troops on the confines of the Imperial dominions and the Decan. The force, had it even been well conducted, was no more than adequate to the ſervice. Amar Sinka, who went under the title of Rana, or THE PRINCE, by way of eminence, deduced his deſcent from the Imperial family, who reigned in the great city of Kinôge over all India for many centuries, before that empire was invaded by the followers of Mahommed. He added power to his noble birth. He poſſeſſed the greater part of the territories which compoſe the extenſive dominions of the preſent Mahrattors; and the lawful heir of his family bears, to this day, the name of Prince among that powerful ariſtocracy.

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Feuds in the Imperial army.

Many nobles of the firſt rank and renown attended Sultan Purvez in this expedition. The moſt conſiderable were Chan Jehan, deſcended of the Imperial family of Lodi, who reigned before the houſe of Timur, in Hindoſtan; Mirza Abdul Rahim, who derived his pedigree from Timur; and Chan Chanan, the ſon of the famous Byram, who had been regent during the minority of the emperor Akbar. Theſe compoſed the prince's council. But they carried their former feuds into their deliberations. They were unanimous in nothing. Jealouſy, in its moſt forbidding form, appeared in all their debates; and they could not even abſtain from indecent reflections upon one another. The ſpirit of diſcord ſpread from the council of war to the army. Each of the great Omrahs had his partizans and abettors. Faction and tumult reigned in every corner of the camp. The prince was naturally mild; he wanted experience; and he was deſtitute of that intrepid firmneſs and ſeverity, which is neceſſary to awe mankind into obedience. He deſcended to intreaty where he ought to command; and when he endeavoured to reconcile them, their paſſion became more inflamed, as every check was removed by his known ſoftneſs of diſpoſition.

Their diſtreſs and retreat;

The army in the mean time advanced. Within a few days march of Brampour, the Imperialiſts came in ſight of the enemy. Men generally become united at the approach of danger. It happened otherwiſe here. The ſpirit of Diſcord and Envy had been let looſe; and the Omrahs feared the enemy leſs, than the ſucceſs that might attend the advice of any one of themſelves. Chan-Jehan was for battle. Chan Chanan differed from him in opinion; as the enemy was too advantageouſly poſted in the hills. Abdul Rahim, was for entering the Rana's country by another road. The prince was ready to adopt any reſolution, upon which they all ſhould agree. This was impoſſible. The

army

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army lay inactive. The air in the camp became putrid. Fevers raged. The enemy hovered round on the mountains. Proviſions and forage became ſcarce: the fields around were red with the freſh graves of the dead. But though the council of war diſagreed about an attack, they concurred in a retreat. They fled with precipitation to Ajmere. The enemy hung on their rear. The Omrahs wrote ſeparately letters to court, with accuſations againſt each other's conduct. Chan Chanan was recalled to Agra, diveſted of all his employments; and he even thought himſelf happy in being able to ſave his life. The diſgrace of this nobleman redounded not to the honour of Chan Jehan. That lord, through whoſe accuſations Chan Chanan chiefly fell, rendered himſelf odious by ingratitude. He had been educated in the family of Chan Chanan: he had riſen, through his influence, to all his honours and offices.

Purvez recalled.

Jehangire, alarmed at the bad ſucceſs of his arms againſt the Rana, diſpatched Mohabet Chan to take the command of the army. He could not have made a better choice. Mohabet was brave in action, intrepid in deliberation; full of dignity and ſpirit; under the abſolute dominion of judgment and good conduct. Purvez was recalled to the preſence. The unfortunate iſſue of the campaign was a ſevere blow to that prince. It affected his reputation; it loſt him his father's affections; and even his proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne.

Emperor's progreſs to Ajmere.

Though the choice which Jehangire had made of a general to command his forces againſt the Rana ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, the event did not anſwer the emperor's ſanguine expectations. The army was in too bad a condition, to be ſuddenly reſtored to diſcipline and order. Mohabet could not, with any aſſurance of victory, ſhew them to the enemy. Jehangire was naturally

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impatient. On the ſecond of Shabân, of the one thouſand and twenty-ſecond year of the Higera, he moved the Leſcar or Imperial camp, with a profeſſed deſign of putting himſelf at the head of the troops employed againſt the Rana. The magnificence of the emperor's progreſs to Ajmere, deſerves a brief deſcription. When the monarchs of Hindoſtan take the field, their camps are a kind of moving cities. That of Jehangire, in his preſent progreſs, was in circumference at leaſt twenty miles. The Leſcar is divided, like a regular town, into ſquares, alleys, and ſtreets. The royal pavilion is always erected in the center: no man raiſes his nearer than the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot around. Every man of quality, every artificer, knows his ground, the ſpace allotted for him, on which ſide, how far from the emperor he muſt pitch his tent. The pavilions of the great officers of the court are, at a diſtance, known by their ſplendor; at hand, by marks which diſtinguiſh the various ranks of the owners. The ſhops and apartments of tradeſmen are alſo known by rule; and no man is for a moment at a loſs how to ſupply his wants. The Leſcar, from a riſing ground, furniſhes one of the moſt agreeable proſpects in the world. Starting up, in a few hours, in an uninhabited plain, it raiſes the idea of a city built by enchantment: and fills the mind with delightful wonder and ſurprize. Even thoſe who leave their houſes in cities, to follow the prince in his progreſs, are frequently ſo charmed with the Leſcar, when ſituated in a beautiful and convenient place, that they cannot prevail with themſelves to remove. To prevent this inconvenience to the court, the emperor, after ſufficient time is allowed to the tradeſmen to follow, orders them to be burnt out of their tents.

Prince Churrum ſent to command in the Decan.

Though the emperor, at his departure from Agra, declared that he was to command in perſon his army in the Decan, that ſervice was actually deſtined for Sultan Churrum, his third ſon. That prince left Ajmere on the twentieth of Zicâda. He was more ſucceſsful than his brother. Having ſuperſeded Mohâbet, he entered the mountains without heſitation. The enemy was ſeized with a panic, and fled before him. He made himſelf maſter of Brampour, the capital of the Rana's dominions, with little oppoſition. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought; but no deciſive battle. The Rana ſued for peace. His ſon Kinwâr Kirren came, with magnificent preſents to the prince. Churrum received him with apparent kindneſs and great diſtinction. The Rana himſelf, encouraged by Churrum's reception of his ſon, came unexpectedly into the preſence. He threw himſelf at the feet of Churrum; who very courteouſly raiſed him, took him in his arms, and obliged him to ſit on his right hand.

The Rana offers terms.

The Rana opened the conference, by excuſing his own behaviour, the outrages committed by his people: and he extolled the clemency of the prince, who, though ſuperior in the field, was willing to grant an equitable peace. Churrum knew that the blame of the war did not reſt on the Hindoos. He therefore replied, That excuſes on the ſide of the Rana were unneceſſary; that it was the duty of every prince to exert the power placed in his hands, in defence of his ſubjects and dominions; but as war had been kindled, and the fortune of the Mahommedans had prevailed, he thought it his duty to uſe his ſucceſs with moderation; and that he was willing to put an immediate end to all differences, by a ſolid and laſting peace. The Rana conſented to pay a tribute to the family of Timur. Some difficulties aroſe about the ſum: the deciſion was left to Jehangire. To finiſh the treaty, as well as to be an hoſtage for the Rana's faith, Kinwâr Kirren, that prince's ſon, was diſpatched to the Imperial preſence. Jehangire, at the time, kept his court at Ajmere. He received Kinwâr with great

diſtinction.

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diſtinction. He preſented him with arms, jewels, a rich dreſs for himſelf, and one for each of his principal attendants. He alſo gave to the prince an Imperial elephant, ſumptuouſly capariſoned, and one hundred fine Perſian horſes. He created him by patent an Omrah of five thouſand: but all theſe were ſplendid badges of ſlavery; and the means of degradation from his former independence and rank. Peace was finally ſettled, upon the terms propoſed by Churrum.

Prince Churrum in great favour.

The ſucceſs of the expedition into the Decan, raiſed to a high pitch the reputation of Churrum. His father's affection for him grew with his fame. Men began to turn their eyes upon him, as the heir-apparent of the throne. Jehangire treated him, in his converſation, with the higheſt diſtinction; and he ſeemed anxious to expreſs to the world his affection and regard. A court was appointed for him. Eſtates were ſettled upon him, for the maintenance of a body-guard of a thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot, ſubject only to his commands. Sultan Purvez, in the mean time, declined in his father's eſteem in proportion as Churrum roſe. The prince Chuſero was ſtill in cloſe confinement; and a fair field was left for the ambition of Churrum.

A whim of the emperor.

During the tranſactions in the Decan, a ridiculous whim roſe in the emperor's mind. He ordered his ears to be bored; and then he hung them with large pearls. An edict was iſſued to forbid the court to all nobles who ſhould not do the ſame. He, in the mean time, diſtributed a vaſt quantity of pearls and jewels among the nobility, to induce them to pay obedience to the edict. Many, however, were refractory. Ear-rings are the badge of ſlavery among the Indians; and the Mahommedans, though ſubject to deſpotiſm, wiſhed to avoid the appearance of being ſlaves.

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ſlaves. Jehangire himſelf gives a ridiculous reaſon for this innovation in dreſs. In his memoirs of the firſt twelve years of his reign, he excuſes the introduction of ear-rings, from a motive of religion, to the ſuperſtitions of which, he was by no means often ſubject. His father Akbar, it was pretended, by the merit of a pilgrimage to Ajmere, to the learned and religious Chaja Moin-ul-dien, had been bleſſed with children. Jehangire was the firſt fruits of this piece of devotion: and he ſaid, in the preamble to his edict, that he, who was brought into being by the prayers of Chaja, could do no leſs than become his ſlave, and wear the marks of ſervitude. His reaſons appeared ſo abſurd and ſuperſtitious, that ſome of the nobles taxed him with favouring idolatry. The effeminate cuſtom was, however, introduced by the weight of the Imperial authority; and it ſtill remains a blot on Jehangire's memory, and a laſting mark of the weakneſs of his mind.

Diſgrace of Chan Azim, and death of Man Singh.

On the twentieth of Mohirrim of the 1024, Sultan Churrum returned to court, covered with laurels. He was received by Jehangire with marks of the higheſt eſteem and affection, which the artful prince converted to means favourable to his ſchemes of ambition, and to gratify his paſſion for revenge. Chan Azim, already mentioned as the principal abettor of Chuſero's rebellion, was accuſed by Churrum of intended treaſon. He had long been excluded from the councils of ſtate; and though his government of Malava had been continued to him, it was more from a fear of his influence, than from a reſpect to his character and perſon. Habituated to the high office of viſier, in the reign of Akbar, he could not brook his want of power. He ſpoke incautiouſly of government; and it is ſaid, that he actually meditated to render himſelf independent of the empire, in his own province of Malava. He was ſeized before his ſchemes were ripe for execution, carried to

Gualiâr,

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Gualiâr, and impriſoned in that impregnable fortreſs. Raja Man Singh, the next great adherent of prince Chuſero, died in the courſe of the ſame year, in his government of Bengal. He was chief of the Rajaput princes. His honour was great, his reputation high. In the wars of Akbar he ſignalized himſelf upon many occaſions. He was very inſtrumental in the conqueſt of Bengal; the government of which, as a reward for his ſervices, he retained to his death. His ſon Bao Singh ſucceeded him in his ſubaſhip; being raiſed by the emperor to the rank of an Omrah of five thouſand horſe, by the title of Mirza Rajagi.

Character of Sultan Purvez.

When Sultan Churrum carried all things before him in the Imperial preſence, his elder brother Purvez reſided with all the pomp of royalty at Brampour, as governor of the dominion and province of Candeiſh. Chan Chanan, in ſome meaſure reſtored to favour, remained with Purvez, and managed, under him, the affairs of the province. In the end of the autumn of the 1024 of the Higera, Sir Thomas Roe, the Engliſh Ambaſſador to the court of Agra, arrived at Brampour. Politeneſs and affability were natural to Purvez. Full of honour and good-nature, his virtues were of the milder caſt: too indolent for the fatigues of buſineſs, diffident of his own abilities. He poſſeſſed the perſonal courage of a good ſoldier; but he was deſtitute of the conduct neceſſary to a great general. He followed implicitly the advice of others, when there was no diſagreement in their opinions; when there was, he was embarraſſed, and could not decide. His genius ſuited times of tranquillity; and had he lived to poſſeſs the throne, he might have rendered his people happy, from his invariable clemency and love of domeſtic quiet.

His courteous reception of Sir Thomas Roe.

When the arrival of Sir Thomas at Brampour was announced, by the proper officer, to the prince, he ſent him a polite meſſage

to

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to come into his preſence. The ambaſſador obeyed; and Purvez prepared to receive him in ſtate. In the outward court of the palace, a hundred gentlemen on horſeback formed a lane, through which the ambaſſador, conducted by the Cutwal, paſſed. In the inner court, the prince ſat mounted in a gallery, under a royal canopy. The nobles, according to their rank, formed a line on either ſide. The chief ſecretary ſtood on the ſteps of the throne, and conveyed, in the conciſeſt terms, to the prince, whatever was addreſſed to him from below. The behaviour of Purvez was, upon the whole, courteous and obliging: he paſſed from the uſual ceremonies required from ambaſſadors, and affected to treat Sir Thomas after the manner of his own country. A firmân was immediately iſſued, for a permiſſion to an Engliſh factory to ſettle at Brampour. The prince invited the ambaſſador to a private conference, to thank him for his preſents; inſinuating, that he was anxious to throw off that ſtate and diſtance, with which he was obliged to receive him, before ſo great an appearance of nobles.

Tranſactions at the court in Ajmere.

Jehangire, in the mean time, kept his court at Ajmere. He ſeemed inſane upon the article of paying honours to Chaja. He ordered a magnificent palace to be built, in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, for Hafîza Jemmâl, the ſaint's daughter: the holy man himſelf, from the auſterity of his principles, not chuſing, by an acceptance of preſents, to depart from the ſimplicity of life and philoſophical character which had raiſed his fame. The palace built for Jemmâl was remarkable for beauty and ſituation. Fine baths were erected over natural fountains; and extenſive gardens were laid out around it, with great elegance and taſte. Tranquillity prevailed over all the empire. The motions of the army in the Decan were rather parade than war. Luxury prevailed in every form. The magnificence of the favourite Sultana was beyond

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beyond all bounds. Expenſive pageants, ſumptuous entertainments, were the whole buſineſs of the court. The voice of muſic never ceaſed by day in the ſtreet; the ſky was enlightened at night with fire-works and illuminations.

The Engliſh ambaſſador arrives at court.

In the midſt of this feſtivity and joy, the Engliſh ambaſſador arrived at Ajmere. He was received by Jehangire with the utmoſt affability and politeneſs. He even prevented the ambaſſador with expreſſions of reſpect for his maſter, and felicitations to himſelf upon his ſafe arrival at court. The preſents given by the ambaſſador were agreeable to the emperor; but a fine coach ſent by King James pleaſed him moſt of all. He even had the impatience to go into it that very night, and to deſire the ambaſſador's ſervants to draw him around the court of the palace. Sultan Churrum, at the time, was all-powerful in the affairs of the ſtate. To him the ambaſſador applied, as lord of Surat, to redreſs the grievances of the Engliſh at that port. The prince was courteous, and promiſed fair; but he was an enemy to all Chriſtians, whom he called Idolaters; and moſt of all an enemy to the Engliſh. The emperor's favour for the ambaſſador prevailed, in ſome meaſure, over the prince's prejudices and obſtinacy. In the month of January 1615, a firmân was obtained for the eſtabliſhment of a factory at Surat. But it was worded with caution, defective and circumſcribed.

Diſturbances in Guzerat.

In the end of the year 1024, two inſurrections happened in the kingdom of Guzerat. The firſt was a rebellion excited by a youth, deſcended of the ancient kings of that country: the ſecond was an extraordinary incurſion of the Coolies, a race of robbers, who, from their deſarts, infeſted the highways and cultivated country. The young rebel aſſumed the title of Bahadar Shaw. Before he could execute any thing material he died, and Guzerat was relieved from the threatened misfortune of a civil war. Ab-

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dalla Chan was ordered, from the Decan, againſt the Coolies. He had commanded the Imperial army againſt the Rana, in the intermediate ſpace of time between the recall of Mohâbet and the arrival of prince Churrum. He was ſucceſsful; but his glory was obſcured by the ſuperior reputation of the prince, who ſucceeded him. Jehangire was not inſenſible of the valour and abilities of Abdalla. To leave a fair field to his favourite ſon, he removed the general to Guzerat. The emperor departed from his uſual humanity, in his inſtructions to Abdalla. The Coolies were a barbarous and cruel race of men: and Jehangire gave directions to extirpate the whole tribe, as enemies to the reſt of mankind.

Quaſhed by Abdalla.

Abdalla arrived with great expedition at Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat. Some chiefs who, from the hopes of booty, and through fear, had joined the Coolies, ſubmitted to him in his march. With five hundred ſelect men, the general left Ahmedabâd; and he made ſo much expedition, that he entered the mountainous and almoſt impervious country of the Coolies, before they had any intelligence of his march. The two principal chiefs of the banditti were Eder and Laël. Abdalla ſat down ſuddenly before the caſtle of Eder. That chief, not intimidated, marched out and gave him battle. After an obſtinate conflict of ſome hours, the Coolies were obliged to fly. Eder took the way of the deſart; and left his caſtle and treaſure to the victor. Laël, in the mean time, was on an excurſion of depredation in another corner of Guzerat. He had robbed a great caravan of all its merchandize; and it was the news of this misfortune that directed Abdalla to the enemy. Laël had under him three thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot: but Abdalla had been reinforced. The Cooli did not decline battle. The action was bloody. Victory declared for Abdalla; and the head of Laël,

who

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who was ſlain in the fight, was placed over one of the gates of Ahmedabâd.

Diſturbances in Cabul quaſhed.

The inſurrection at Guzerat was ſcarce quelled, when the Afgans, the natives of the mountains between India and Perſia, revolted; and iſſuing from their hills, laid waſte the neighbouring country, in the province of Cabul. Shaw Bec, governor of Cabul, marched againſt the inſurgents. They had the folly to come to a regular battle with that Suba; and they were defeated. Shaw Bec made the beſt uſe of his victory. He purſued the fugitives beyond Candahar; and reſtored his province to its former tranquillity.

Bad ſucceſs in the Decan.

During the reſidence of Sultan Purvez in Brampour, the capital of Chandeiſh, Chan Jehân, already mentioned, as an Omrah of great diſtinction, deſcended from the royal family of Lodi, commanded the Imperial army, in ſubordination to the prince; and puſhed his expeditions into the unconquered kingdoms of the Decan. Maleck-Amber was at the head of the confederacy againſt the Imperial invaſion. Nothing of conſequence was done by Chan Jehân, on account of diſputes between the officers of the army. The prince Purvez was ordered to take the command in perſon. Upon his appearance at the head of the Imperial troops, ſeveral chiefs ſubmitted; and paid the accuſtomed tribute. Maleck Amber ſtood out alone. The Rana broke his treaty, and appeared in arms. The danger alarmed Jehangire. He had a better opinion of the military abilities of Sultan Churrum, than of thoſe of Purvez. The former was ordered to superſede the latter, which was at once reckoned unjuſt and impolitic; as Churrum was as much deteſted by the ſoldiers, as Purvez was beloved.

In

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Sultan Churrum's name changed to Shaw Jehân.

In the month of June, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteen, according to our computation of time, the prince Churrum marched from Ajmere to the Decan. His father, before his departure, conferred upon him the title of Shaw Jehân, or KING OF THE WORLD. This name he retained even after his acceſſion to the empire; and he was diſtinguiſhed by it, during the remainder of his father's reign; that of Churrum being, from his going upon the preſent expedition, laid for ever aſide. The friends of the family of Timur, repreſented to the emperor the danger of ſending the younger to ſuperſede the elder brother; conſidering the animoſities which ſubſiſted between them. "No matter," ſaid Jehangire, "let them fight it out. The victor ſhall manage "the war in the Decan: the vanquiſhed may return to me." The ſpeech of a lunatic, more than that of a prudent prince. Purvez, however, was of a milder diſpoſition, than to puſh his reſentment ſo far. He quietly reſigned the command: and was ſucceeded by Shaw Jehân, much againſt the inclination of the army.

Forces the princes of the Decan to a peace.

Shaw Jehân having carried from Ajmere a great reinforcement, upon his arrival, ſet the army in motion toward the enemy. The princes of the Decan were intimidated; and they were divided among themſelves. They retreated at Shaw Jehân's approach, and ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace. Shaw Jehân, glad of an opportunity of eclipſing Sultan Purvez, received their ſubmiſſion upon eaſy terms. Maleck Amber, again deſerted, had the reſolution not to accede to the pacification. Shaw Jehân, anxious to return with his laurels to court, left the war ſuſpended by a partial truce, rather than finiſhed by a ſolid peace. On the eleventh of Shawal, of the one thouſand and twenty-ſixth of the Higera, he arrived in the preſence; accompanied by the princes

who

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who had ſubmitted to his arms. Their reſpective tributes were ſoon ſettled, and they were permitted to return.

Cauſe of the former bad ſucceſs.

The ſucceſs of this expedition was by no means the effect of Shaw Jehân's prudent and reſolute conduct. The way to a pacification had been paved before he left Ajmere. The emperor, juſtly aſtoniſhed at the ſmall progreſs of his arms in the Decan, enquired minutely into the cauſe. Chan Chanan, who managed every thing under Sultan Purvez, was ſecretly in the pay of the enemy. He clogged every meaſure; and rendered every expedition of no effect. He long endeavoured, by his friends at court, to prevent the removal of Purvez. The emperor had taken his reſolution. Shaw Jehân was deſtined for the command of the army; and Chan Chanan, to deprive him of the honour of a victory over an enemy, who had apparently reſiſted all his own and his pupil's efforts, perſuaded the confederates to ſue for peace, in the Imperial preſence; without alleging their fear of Shaw Jehân as anyways conducive to their offers of pacification. The emperor, however, would not receive their ſubmiſſion, but through the hands of the prince; anxious to raiſe the conſequence of his favourite ſon in the eyes of his ſubjects.

The emperor removes from Ajmere.

In the month of December of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteen, according to the Chriſtian æra, the emperor, with all the accuſtomed magnificence of his march, left Ajmere. His profeſſed deſign was to approach nearer to his army on the frontiers, to give them ſpirit with his preſence. After a tedious journey, he arrived at Mando, in the province of Malava; and took up his reſidence in that city. He did one very popular action on his march. Paſſing by the place where his ſon Chuſero was confined, he ordered his coach * to ſtop at the gate. The prince, by

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* The ſame that was ſent him as a preſent by our James I.

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by his commands, was brought before him. His chains were ſtruck off; and he was placed upon one of the Imperial elephants. The people were overjoyed at the releaſe of Chuſero. His affability, and the beauty of his perſon, recommended him to the vulgar; and they loved him on account of his misfortunes. Many cauſes concurred to make the emperor adopt this meaſure. He was informed, that ſome friends of Shaw Jehân were plotting againſt the life of Chuſero. The miniſter, Aſaph Jah, the favourite Sultana's brother, had alſo behaved rudely to the unfortunate prince, and betrayed ſymptoms of diſlike and revenge. Shaw Jehân was probably at the bottom of all. His friends, without his permiſſion, would ſcarce have attempted the life of his brother; and he had been lately married to the daughter of Aſaph Jah. The emperor was enraged at their wickedneſs and preſumption; and, by an act of power, fruſtrated, for the time, their deſigns.

Great power of the empreſs.

The power of Noor-Mâhil over the emperor's affections, had not in the leaſt abated. She, for the moſt part, ruled over him with abſolute ſway: ſometimes his ſpirit broke forth beyond her controul. Her brother's alliance with Shaw Jehan, kept her in the intereſt of that prince: and her averſion to Chuſero and Purvez was equal to her regard for him. An edict was iſſued to change her name from Noor-Mâhil into that of Noor-Jehân, or the LIGHT OF THE WORLD. To diſtinguiſh her from the other wives of the emperor, ſhe was always addreſſed by the title of SHAHE, or Empreſs. Her name was joined with that of the emperor, on the current coin. She was the ſpring which moved the great machine of the ſtate. Her family took rank immediately after the princes of the blood. They were admitted, at all hours, into the preſence; nor were they excluded from the moſt ſecret apartments of the ſeraglio. By her influence, Chan

Azim,

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Azim, the late viſier, was releaſed from his confinement in Gualiâr, and admitted into court.

Tranſactions at court during its reſidence at Mando.

It was after Jehangire's arrival at Mando, that the affairs of the Decan were ſettled. The Engliſh ambaſſador remained ſtill at court. The affability and good-nature of Jehangire did not, for ſome time, overbalance Shaw Jehân's averſion to the Engliſh nation. An incident at Surat was magnified into an inſult upon the Imperial power, by the prince and his party. The ambaſſador, however, removed the emperor's jealouſy: and he had the addreſs to gain, at laſt, the favour of the prince, the miniſter, and the empreſs; and obtained the privileges of trade, which were the object of his embaſſy. An ambaſſador from Perſia was not ſo ſucceſsful: he was received with little ceremony, and diſmiſſed with a coolneſs little ſhort of contempt. He came to negociate a loan at the court of Agra; and Jehangire was in no humour to give any of his money away. The emperor even deſcended into meanneſs, on the occaſion. The Perſian had been ſerved in all neceſſaries from court. A bill was ordered to be ſent him, when he announced his deſign of departing. He was obliged to pay the laſt farthing; but the preſents which he had brought for the emperor were valued, and deducted from the ſum demanded.

Emperor's progreſs to Guzerat, and return to Agra.

The emperor, having ſettled the affairs of the Decan, and ſpent at Mando ſeventeen months, in hunting and other rural amuſements, marched, with his Leſcâr or great camp, into the kingdom of Guzerat. In the latter end of the Autumn of the one thouſand and twenty-ſeventh of the Higera, he arrived at Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat. He took, from that city, the route of Cambait; where he had ordered ſhips and magnificent barges to be ready for him, to take his amuſement on the ocean, with all his court. He was ſoon tired of the agitation of the veſſels on the waves; and returned to Ahmedabâd on the ſecond of Ramzan, of the year one thouſand and twenty-ſeven. He did not long remain at Ahmedabâd. He took the route of Agra, and arrived in that capital after an abſence of near five years.

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Death and character of the viſier.

Soon after the court returned to Agra, the good old viſier, Actemâd-ul-Dowla, the emperor's father-in-law, gave up a life, which, on account of his many virtues, had become dear to the people. Bred up in the ſchool of Adverſity, Actemâd-ul-Dowla had learned to ſubdue his paſſions, to liſten to the dictates of Reaſon, to feel for the misfortunes of mankind. Having raiſed himſelf from ſervitude to authority, from indigence to honour and wealth, he knew the duties of every ſtation. He was not leſs converſant with the world in practice, than he was from his extenſive reading and the well-weighed reflections of his own mind. An œconomiſt in every thing, but in charity, he was only covetous of wealth to relieve the needy and the poor. He choſe rather to maintain the dignity of his rank by the number of his friends, than by that of domeſtics, followers, and ſlaves. The people loved him as a father, but feared him as a father too; for he tempered ſeverity with moderation, and lenity with the rigour of the laws. The empire flouriſhed under his wiſe adminiſtration. No evil but luxury prevailed. That weed takes root in proſperity; and, perhaps, can never be eradicated from ſo rich a ſoil.---The empreſs was inconſolable for the death of her father. She propoſed, at once, as a proof of her affection and magnificence, to perpetuate his memory in a monument of ſolid ſilver. The Imperial architect ſoon convinced her, that a metal ſo precious would not be the moſt laſting means of tranſmitting the viſier's fame to poſterity. "All ages," ſaid he, "are full "of avarice; and even the empire of the houſe of Timur, like all "ſublunary things, is ſubject to revolution and change." She dropt her purpoſe; and a magnificent fabric of ſtone ſtill retains, in Agra, the name of Actemâd-ul-Dowla.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. IV.

Diſpoſition of the court—Expedition to Sewalic—The emperor in Caſhmire—Diſturbances in the Decan—Prince Chuſero murdered—Rebellion of Shaw Jehân—He is repulſed at Agra—Defeated at Delhi—Purſued by his brother Purvez—Defeated at the Nirbidda—He reduces Orixa, Bengal and Behar—He marches toward the capital—Totally defeated by Purvez—Beſieges Brampour—In great diſtreſs—His ſubmiſſion—Candahar loſt to the empire.

A. D. 1618.
Hig. 1027.
Diſpoſition of the court.

THE death of the old viſier produced no alteration in the affairs of the court of Agra. Habituated, under his father, to public buſineſs, Aſiph Jah was active in his high department; and Jehangire himſelf had acquired a conſiderable degree of experience and knowledge, in the paſt years of his reign. The favourite Sultana was not in the mean time idle. She even attended to tranſactions in which her own paſſions were not immediately concerned; and often gave ſeaſonable advice to her conſort. She had ſuch an aſcendancy over the emperor's mind, that he ſeldom durſt attempt any material meaſure without her concurrence. She diſpoſed of the higheſt offices at pleaſure; and the greateſt honours were conferred at her nod. Aſiph was attentive to his ſiſter's humours. He knew the pride and haughtineſs of her diſpoſition; and he forgot the equality which nature gives to a brother, in a profound reſpect for the empreſs.

A. D. 1618.
Hig. 1028.

Expedition into the mountains of Sewalic.

Toward the cloſe of the year, the Raja Bickermajît was ſent, with a conſiderable force, to the mountains of Sewalic, to the north-eaſt of the Ganges. In the numerous vallies which interſect that immenſe ridge of hills, many tribes lived, under their native princes, who had never been ſubdued by the arms of the followers of Mahommed. Safe in their inacceſſible retreats, they often iſſued out, in a depredatory manner, from their faſtneſſes, and haraſſed, with incurſions, the northern provinces. Bickermajît, after having encountered with great difficulties, penetrated into the heart of their country, and ſat down before the fort of Eangurra, which was ſituated upon a rocky mountain, and thought impregnable. It fell ſoon into his hands; but the reduction of all the tribes was not finiſhed till the cloſe of the ſucceeding year. Twenty-two petty princes agreed to pay a certain tribute; and they ſent hoſtages to Agra, as ſecurities for their future obedience.

Aurungzebe born.

The eleventh of Zicâda was rendered remarkable by the birth of a ſon to the prince Shaw Jehân, by Sultana Kudſia, the daughter of Aſiph Jah. Jehangire, who, from his affection to his ſon, was highly pleaſed with this increaſe in his family, called the infant AURUNGZEBE, or the Ornament of the Throne.—To avoid the approaching heat of the ſeaſon, the emperor reſolved to remove his court to the delightful country of Caſhmire. Shaw Jehân accompanied his father in his progreſs. They entered the mountains of Sewalic, in their way, and viſited the fort of Eangurra, which had ſome time before ſurrendered to Bickermajît. Jehangire, in a pretended zeal for religion, ordered all the images of the gods of the Hindoos, which were found in a temple within the fortreſs, to be broken to pieces; and he aſſiſted in conſecrating the place for the worſhip of God, after the manner preſcribed in the Coran.

A. D. 1619.
Hig. 1028.

Return of the ambaſſador to Perſia.

In his progreſs to Caſhmire, the emperor was met by Chan Alum, from his embaſſy to the court of Perſia. Jehangire, after reflecting upon the contemptuous treatment which he had given to the Perſian ambaſſador, had reſolved to remove any coldneſs which might ariſe on that account, between the two empires. He, for that purpoſe, had diſpatched Chan Alum, with magnificent preſents to Shaw Abas of Perſia. This nobleman was received with every mark of reſpect. The treaties between the two crowns were renewed and confirmed; and the Perſian loaded him with rich preſents, accompanying them with a letter of friendſhip to Jehangire; without mentioning the injurious reception of his own miniſter at the Indian court.

The great roads improved.

Jehangire, fond of making progreſſes through his extenſive dominions, made, this year, great additions to the convenience of travelling. Conſiderable ſums were iſſued from the treaſury, for mending the great roads of the empire. Wells were dug at the end of every two miles; and a building for the reception of wayfarers, was erected near each well. This improvement began on the road to Caſhmire, where Jehangire arrived in the beginning of the year 1029. He was highly pleaſed with that moſt beautiful province. The principal valley of which it conſiſts, being much more elevated than the plains of India, is cool and pleaſant in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year. A profound tranquillity reigning over all the empire, Jehangire remained many months in Caſhmire. He went daily to the chace; and wandered, after a variety of rural pleaſures, over the face of that charming and flouriſhing country. He did not return to Lahore, till the month of Mohirrim of the year that ſucceeded his arrival at Caſhmire.

A. D. 1620. Higer. 1029.

Diſturbances in the Decan.

The emperor had ſcarce arrived at Lahore, when he received advices, that the princes of the Decan, who had engaged to pay a certain tribute, had driven away, by force, the deputies who had been ſent to receive it. The refractory tributaries backed this violent meaſure with an army of ſixty thouſand horſe. They encamped at Ballapour. The chiefs of the confederates were Nizam-ul-Muluc, Adil Chan, and Cuttub. They were deſcended of the Mahommedan princes, who, at the fall of the Patan empire, had aſſumed the ſtate and independence of princes in the Decan.

Shaw Jehân ſent to quell the inſurgents.

Jehangire, upon receiving this intelligence, immediately diſpatched Shaw Jehân to Agra. He gave him a commiſſion to command the Imperial army ſtationed in and near that city. The prince did not continue long at Agra. He marched, on the twentieth of Siffer, toward Brampour. His force conſiſted of forty thouſand horſe. Abdul Huſſein, an experienced officer, was his ſecond in command. Letters came to the prince, on his march, from the Imperial governor of Mando, that a conſiderable detachment of the enemy had croſſed the Nirbidda, and were laying waſte the country. Abdul Huſſein was immediately detached againſt them, with five thouſand horſe. That general came up with the plunderers, defeated them, ſlew many on the ſpot, and purſued the fugitives to the hills. The prince himſelf continued his route to Brampour.

The rebels reduced.

Chan Chanan, who commanded at Brampour, was in a manner beſieged in that city by the enemy. They had traverſed the provinces of Berâr and Chandeiſh; and ſpread their devaſtations to the gates of Brampour. The Imperialiſts recovered their ſpirit, upon the prince's arrival with an army; and the hopes of the inſurgents began to vaniſh. Some petty Rajas, who had

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joined the confederates, took the firſt opportunity of throwing themſelves at the feet of Shaw Jehân. They were pardoned, but obliged to pay the arrear of their tribute, which amounted to fifty lacks. The Mahommedan princes, being deſerted by the Hindoo Rajas, their troops mutinied, and diſſentions roſe in their councils. They ſeparated in diſguſt and deſpair, each to his own territory. Shaw Jehân divided his army into five parts, and followed the rebels. In the ſpace of a few months, without any conſiderable action, he reduced the inſurgents to their former obedience; forcing them to pay the arrears of their tribute, which was now ſettled at the annual ſum of fifty-five lacks of roupees.

Chuſero delivered into the hands of Shaw Jehân.

When Shaw Jehân had received orders from his father to quell the diſturbances in the Decan, he requeſted that his brother, the unfortunate prince Chuſero, might be put into his hands. He had often made the ſame requeſt before, but to no effect. Jehangire juſtly doubted his ſincerity, when he profeſſed, that it was a regard for a brother that induced him to wiſh to have Chuſero in his poſſeſſion. He knew the ambition of Shaw Jehân: he ſtill had an affection for Chuſero. Aſiph Jah, even the favourite Sultana had gone into the views of Shaw Jehân; but the emperor remained long inflexible. Shaw Jehân, for ſome time, ſeemed to drop his deſigns. He, in the mean time, grew daily in his father's eſteem; and Chuſero declined in proportion as his brother roſe. When the alarming news from the Decan arrived at Lahore, the emperor's hopes reſted all on Shaw Jehân. The artful prince, in the critical moment, renewed his requeſt, with regard to Chuſero, and he was delivered into his hands.

The Sultana ſuſpects his deſigns.

Though Noor-Mâhil had been formerly in the intereſt of Shaw Jehân, ſhe had lately many reaſons to alter her opinion concerning that prince. Her penetrating eye had pierced the veil which he had drawn over his deſigns. She ſaw the great lines of ambition, and an unrelenting perſeverance in purſuit of power, in all his conduct. She communicated her ſuſpicions to Jehangire: ſhe told him, that Shaw Jehân muſt be curbed; that he manifeſtly aſpired to the throne; that all his actions tended to gain popularity; that his apparent virtues were hypocriſy, and not the offspring of a generous and honeſt mind; and that he waited but for a convenient opportunity to throw off the maſk of deceitful duty and feigned allegiance. The emperor was convinced; but it was too late. Chuſero was already in the hands of Shaw Jehân; and the latter was at the head of an army. Silence now was prudence; and a melancholy anxiety ſucceeded to condeſcending weakneſs.

Character of Chuſero.

Chuſero, though popular on account of the beauty of his perſon, and his misfortunes, was a prince of a haughty diſpoſition. He was governed by furious paſſions. His mind was in a perpetual agitation, without pointing to any end. He was now volatile and cheerful; now dark and ſullen. He often laughed at misfortune; he was often enraged at trifles; and his whole conduct betrayed every mark of an inſanity of mind. His judgment was little: his memory weak. He always preferred the laſt advice, having no power of mind to diſtinguiſh propriety, no retention to make juſt compariſons. His deſigns were therefore often ill-founded; his actions irreſolute and undeciſive, and they always terminated in diſgrace and ruin. Yet he had ſomething about him that commanded reſpect in the midſt of his infirmities. Nobody could look at his conduct without diſguſt; none obſerved his manner or ſaw his perſon without regard and a kind of eſteem. Had he not been ſoured by misfortunes, he was naturally of a generous and tender diſpoſition; but adverſity

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ſtopping up the current of his mind, threw it out of its channel, and he, at laſt, became indifferent concerning his own fate.

He is aſſaſſinated.

Shaw Jehân, for ſome time, affected to treat the unfortunate Chuſero with attention and reſpect. But this was a deluſive gleam before a ſtorm. His deſigns were not yet ripe for execution. To remove Chuſero would be to no purpoſe, till other obſtacles to his own ambition were removed. Fortune favoured his deſigns. His ſucceſs in the Decan raiſed his reputation; the plunder of the enemy furniſhed the means of gaining for him the army. They expreſſed their inviolable attachment to his perſon and views. He threw off the maſk at once. He diſregarded the mandates of the court of Agra; and to complete his crimes, he ordered the unfortunate Chuſero to be aſſaſſinated by ruffians, under the walls of Azere. He aſſumed, ſoon after, the Imperial titles; laying the foundation of his throne in a brother's blood.

Manner of his death.

Though all mankind were convinced, that Shaw Jehân was acceſſary to the murder of Chuſero, he had taken previous meaſures to conceal the intended crime. When he had quelled the inſurrection in the Decan, he became apparently melancholy, and pretended to fall into a diſeaſe. His friends were full of anxiety. One only was in the ſecret; and he began to inſinuate, that the prince had received intelligence, that Jehangire had determined to raiſe Chuſero to the throne. He expatiated upon the uncertain fate of Shaw Jehân; and upon the doubtfulneſs of their own fortune, as connected with that prince. One Raja Bandor, a notorious villain, underſtood the meaning of Shaw Jehân's friend. In hopes of a reward, he went at midnight to the tent of Chuſero, and pretending a meſſage from the emperor, he was admitted by the attendants of the prince, without ſuſ-

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picion. He found him faſt aſleep, and ſtabbed him to the heart. The favourite wife of Chuſero, the daughter of the viſier Chan Azem, came to her huſband's tent in the morning. She found him cold in his blood; ſhe filled the camp and the neighbouring city of Azere with her cries. She ran about diſtracted, and called down the vengeance of God upon the murderers. Shaw Jehân, who had removed to the country for the benefit of the air, returned upon the news of Chuſero's death, and ſhewed ſuch apparent ſymptoms of grief, that he was believed, for ſome time, innocent of the murder.

The emperor enraged at the murder.

The news of the death of Chuſero came ſoon to the emperor's ears. Retaining ſtill ſome affection for his unfortunate ſon, he was ſhocked at the murder, and gave himſelf up to grief. He ſuſpected Shaw Jehân, but common fame had not yet fixed the crime on that prince. Jehangire wrote a public letter to him and his principal officers, ſignifying that he was determined to make a ſtrict and ſevere enquiry concerning the aſſaſſination; and that he would puniſh the murderers with the utmoſt rigour. He ordered the body to be dug up from the grave, and examined. He openly accuſed Shaw Jehân; who, finding himſelf diſcovered, reſolved to continue in his rebellion.

Apology for Shaw Jehân.

The author of the life of Shaw Jehân, aſcribes his rebellion to the violence and ambition of the favourite Sultana. That woman, ſays the writer, finding that the health of the emperor declined, was apprehenſive that the crown would devolve on Shaw Jehân; who had, for ſome time, been the determined enemy of her influence and power. She, therefore, reſolved to ruin the affairs of that prince; and to fix the ſucceſſion in the perſon of Shariâr, the fourth ſon of Jehangire, who was married to her own daughter, by her former huſband Shere Afkun. Her

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abſolute dominion over the emperor obtained credit to her aſperſions. She actually procured a promiſe for an alteration of the ſucceſſion: and it was the certain intelligence of this circumſtance, continues his apologiſt, that drove Shaw Jehân to extremes.

He aſſumes the Imperial titles.

Though Shaw Jehân's deſigns upon the throne were no ſecret, he did not aſſume the Imperial titles till the twenty-ſeventh of the ſecond Jemmâd of the one thouſand and thirty-firſt of the Higera. He immediately, with a numerous army, took the route of Delhi, where, at that time, his father reſided. The news of his march flew before him, and reached the ears of Jehangire. That monarch became anxious, irreſolute, and perplexed; and to complete the confuſion in his councils, advices were, at the ſame time, received, that Shaw Abas, king of Perſia, at the head of a great force, had ſurpriſed Candahar. The emperor was thunderſtruck at this double intelligence of approaching misfortune. The rebellious prince had the flower of the Imperial army under his command. Jehangire, as the laſt reſort, had recourſe to policy. Inſtead of arming for his own defence, he diſſembled his knowledge of his ſon's intentions. He wrote him affectionate letters from day to day. He praiſed his former actions. He commended his preſent alacrity, in coming ſo expeditiouſly to his aid againſt the Perſian. Shaw Jehân was not to be flattered out of his deſigns. He ſaw through his father's policy, and he gradually advanced; but being overtaken by the rains, he was obliged to halt ſome months at Mando, the capital of the province of Malava.

Is repulſed at Agra.

Shaw Jehân in his march made the firſt hoſtile attempt upon the caſtle of Agra. In that fortreſs was lodged a great part of the Imperial treaſure. Upon the news of the prince's departure from Mando, the emperor ſent Aſiph Jah, the viſier, to tranſport the

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Aſiph Jah, the viſier, to tranſport the treaſure from Agra to Lahore. Etabâr Chan, who commanded the fortreſs, was unwilling to riſk the treaſure on the road, as the news of Shaw Jehân's near approach was arrived. The importunities of Aſiph prevailed. Etabâr with a party eſcorted the treaſure: ſome of the enemy appeared in view. Etabâr immediately retired, with his convoy, to the caſtle of Agra; and Aſiph made the beſt of his way to Delhi. Shaw Jehân, immediately upon his arrival, ordered the caſtle to be aſſaulted; but Bickermajît, who commanded the attack, was ſo warmly received, that he was glad to retire, with the loſs of five hundred men. The prince, enraged at this diſappointment, delivered up to plunder ſome of the nobility's houſes at Agra; and then took the rout of Delhi.

His demands on his father

The prince having advanced, formed his camp at Feridabâd. The city of Delhi was alarmed: the emperor perplexed. A letter, in the mean time, was brought to him from his rebellious ſon. Shaw Jehân demanded, That the command of all the Imperial troops ſhould be given to him without reſerve: that orders ſhould be ſent to the governors of the provinces to receive all their future inſtructions from his hands: that permiſſion ſhould be given him to receive, into his poſſeſſion, all the warlike ſtores; that he ſhould have acceſs to the royal magazines and treaſures to ſupply him with every neceſſary, for carrying on the war againſt Perſia: and that the impregnable caſtle of Rentimpour ſhould be placed in his hands, as a place of ſecurity for his family, againſt the machinations of the Sultana, during his abſence in the north.

refuſed.

Jehangire was enraged beyond meaſure at propoſals which, if granted, would actually dethrone him. His reſentment and pride got the better of his temporizing timidity. He iſſued out

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an edict declaring his ſon a rebel, ſhould he not diſband his army, and return to his duty, by a certain day. Another edict confiſcated all his eſtates, by recalling the grants which had been given him, for a magnificent ſubſiſtence. The eſtates were conferred upon Sultan Shariâr; who was, at the ſame time, inveſted with a commiſſion to carry on, with the utmoſt vigour, the Perſian war. Ruſtum Suffavi, an experienced and able officer, was placed next in command to the prince in the expedition. Ruſtum was himſelf a Perſian, a near relation to Shaw Abas, and deduced his paternal deſcent from the Imperial family of Suffvi.

Preparations againſt him.

The Imperial edicts made no impreſſion on Shaw Jehân. The emperor flew from the pen to the ſword. The troops ſtationed near the capital flocked to his ſtandard: others joined him from the provinces. Aſiph Jah and the Sultana had foreſeen the ſtorm, and the adherents of the emperor were on their march to Delhi, when the rebel prince was on his route from the Decan. Jehangire, in a few days, ſaw forty thouſand horſe under his command. Scarce ten thouſand of theſe were of the ſtanding force of the empire, ſo that Shaw Jehân had ſtill a manifeſt ſuperiority.

He endeavours to excuſe his conduct.

The river Jumna, being in the dry ſeaſon of the year fordable, the emperor croſſed it; and both armies arrived at Belochpoor, and remained ſome days in hourly expectations of a battle. The prince, in the mean time, endeavoured to excuſe his own conduct, by affirming, that he was driven to extremes, by the intrigues of the Sultana againſt his power. She carried, he ſaid, all before her with the emperor; and to throw diſgrace upon him, perſuaded Jehangire to order him to the Perſian war, without the neceſſary ſupplies of money and warlike ſtores. He, therefore, alleged, that his demands had been made in ſo peremptory a manner, merely becauſe he did not conſider his father as a free agent, ſwayed and commanded as he was by the pernicious counſels of a vindictive and ambitious woman. Theſe allegations leſſened his crime in the eyes of the ſuperficial; and tended to ſtrengthen in his army, the attachment to his intereſt, which he had purchaſed with donations.

Diſtreſs of the emperor.

The emperor was impatient to come to action with his ſon. Aſiph Jah, the viſier, oppoſed this meaſure, by affirming that it was imprudent to riſque all, with a ſmall force, while reinforcements were daily expected. The emperor ſuſpected his fidelity; and he had ſome reaſon. Aſiph was ſaid to have provided againſt all events, by keeping up a correſpondence with Shaw Jehân. His enemies affirmed, that it was his advice which haſtened the prince from the Decan; though this agrees but little with the preparations which Aſiph had made againſt Shaw Jehân from foreſeeing his rebellion. Jehangire, however, believed his miniſter guilty. He gave himſelf up to rage and deſpair.

His dream.

In the heat of his imagination upon the occaſion, he fell aſleep in his tent. He dreamed that he ſaw a pole fixed in the ground, before the Imperial palace. On the top of the pole, which almoſt reached the ſkies, a meteor ſeemed to play, and to lighten the whole world with its ſplendor. An elephant came from the weſt and overturned the pole. The meteor fell and expired on the ground, leaving the whole earth in profound darkneſs. Jehangire ſtarted from his bed. Naturally ſuperſtitious, he foreſaw ſome coming evil in his dream. He related it, in the morning, to his Omrahs. None ventured to interpret it; and when they ſtood in ſilence in the preſence, a courier arrived, with advice that Mohâbet Chan, with all the forces of Punjâb, was at the diſtance of a few miles from the Imperial camp. This ſudden

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and unexpected reinforcement diffuſed an univerſal joy. The emperor cried out, That his dream was interpreted. Mohâbet joined the army in the evening; and private orders were immediately iſſued to the officers to prepare for action by the dawn of day.

He prepares for battle.

The Imperial army was in motion while yet it was dark; and Shaw Jehân, apprized of their march, did not decline to engage. He advanced apace. The two armies came in ſight of each other oppoſite to Tuglick-abad. The Imperialiſts were commanded in chief by Aſiph Jah, the viſier, who was poſted in the center. Mohâbet Chan had charge of the right wing; Nawaſis Chan, of the left. Abdalla commanded the advanced guards, conſiſting of three thouſand horſe. The Emperor himſelf ſtood behind the center; and to encourage the generals, ſent to each ſome preſents, as a mark of his confidence and favour.

The action begins.

Some of the rebel lords, who thought they were giving good advice to Shaw Jehân, prevailed upon him not to expoſe his perſon in the field. He retired to a ſmall diſtance; and Raja Bickermajît marſhalled his troops in order of battle. The Raja placed himſelf in the center: Raja Bimé commanded the right, Darab Chan the left wing. The action was begun by the advanced guards on both ſides. Thoſe of Shaw Jehân were defeated, at the firſt onſet, by a ſtrange accident. Abdalla, who commanded the advanced guard of the Imperialiſts, ſpurring on his horſe among the enemy, with a few officers in the ſecret, joined the rebels. His troops, miſtaking their commander's perfidy for valour, ruſhed forward to ſupport him; and having engaged the enemy hand to hand, drove them back upon their own line.

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Shaw Jehân defeated.

Aſiph Jah took immediate advantage of the confuſion occaſioned by the flight of Shaw Jehân's advanced guard. He preſſed forward with the center of the Imperialiſts, and came to action with Raja Bickermajît. The ſhock was violent, and the battle continued obſtinate for ſome time. Both the commanders exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. At length the fortune of Aſiph prevailed. Raja Bickermajît fell, pierced through the head with an arrow. The center of the rebels immediately fled; and, at that inſtant, Mohâbet drove the left wing from the field. Raja Bimé, in the mean time, preſſed hard upon Nawaſis Chan, who commanded the right wing of the Imperialiſts. The duſt was ſo great, that the contending armies were involved in darkneſs. They felt for each other with their ſwords. Nawaſis was driven from the field. Many of his officers were killed, and ſome taken priſoners. Raja Bimé, imagining he was returning after a complete victory, fell in with the troops of Aſiph Jah. They mixed undiſtinguiſhed with each other. Slaughter and confuſion reigned. Wounds were inflicted at random. Chance governed all. Every individual conſidered himſelf as in the midſt of ten thouſand foes. The armies retreated to their camps. The field was left to the dead.

Circumſtances

Both parties, at firſt, claimed the honour of the victory, but the conſequences declared it to belong to Jehangire. Though both the emperor and Shaw Jehân had been kept out of the line at the beginning of the action, by the aſſiduity of their friends, when the battle became hot, they mixed with their reſpective armies. Bickermajît, obſerving the emperor, preſſed forward to ſeize him; but in the attempt was ſlain. The ſpirit of the rebels fell with their leader. Shaw Jehân preſented himſelf to the runaways in vain. Neither threats nor promiſes would do. A panic had ſeized them; and though the prince cried aloud, That

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he himſelf, as good and as brave an officer as Bickermajît, was alive, they liſtened not as they paſſed, and ſoon fled beyond the power of hearing.

during the battle.

Shaw Jehân became almoſt diſtracted with his misfortunes. He reſolved ſeriouſly to prevent future miſery and diſtreſs, by an immediate death. His adherents, however, prevailed upon him to retreat. He fled to the mountains of Mewat; his army falling off as he fled. Jehangire was the more aſtoniſhed at his good fortune, the more it was unexpected. When the news of Abdalla's treachery was brought him, he had given all over for loſt. He diſtruſted Aſiph Jah; and he ſent a meſſenger to recal him from the front, when that miniſter was upon the point of engaging the enemy. Fortunately for the emperor, the meſſenger did not come up to the viſier till the affair was decided. The latter obeyed Jehangire, and brought him the news of victory.

Sultan Purvez arrives in the camp.

The battle was ſcarce decided, when Sultan Purvez, in conſequence of his father's orders, arrived from Allahabad, in the Imperial camp. Jehangire received him with an exceſs of joy. The victory over his rebellious ſon had elevated his ſpirits, and diſſipated all his fears. He ſent his ſeraglio before him to Agra; and raiſed Purvez, under the tuition of Mohâbet, to the command of the army. Shaw Jehân, in the mean time, with a few adherents, purſued his way to the Decan; andPurv ez was ordered to follow him with a conſiderable force. The fugitive prince ſtopt with his adherents, to refreſh themſelves at the river Genîva. Purvez, in the mean time, came up; a cannonade enſued, and the Imperialiſts having forced their paſſage, Shaw Jehân retreated with precipitation.

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Affairs in the Decan.

We muſt, for a moment, loſe ſight of the prince, in the misfortunes of his adherents. The Emperor in his extreme affection for Shaw Jehân, had, while yet he remained in his duty, ſubmitted to his government an extenſive diviſion of the empire, conſiſting of ſeveral provinces. In that number was the rich kingdom of Guzerat. Bickermajît, who was ſlain in the action near Delhi, had been governor of that province; and when he joined the prince in his expedition againſt his father, Suffvi Chan was left in the ſuperintendency of Guzerat. Abdalla, whoſe perfidy, in deſerting his ſovereign in the late battle, we have already mentioned, was rewarded, by the prince, for his treachery, with the government vacant by the death of Bickermajît. Unwilling to leave the prince in his diſtreſs, Abdalla diſpatches his friend Offâder Chan to command, in the mean time, in that province. Offâder arriving with a ſmall force at Ahmedabad, the capital, diſplaced Suffvi Chan, the Imperial governor. Suffvi fled to Hankſi. He wrote from thence to Naſir, the governor of Patan. Underſtanding that Suffvi was no ſtranger to the march of Sultan Dawir Buxſh the ſon of Chuſero, under the tuition of his maternal grandfather Chan Azem, to command for the emperor in Guzerat, Naſir blamed him for his flight. He met Suffvi, with a force at Caperbenîz. They reſolved to march to Ahmedabad: and ſetting forward in the evening, they arrived next morning under the walls of the city. Dividing their forces into three bodies; each body attacked a gate. The elephants broke them open: the Imperialiſts entered, and Offâder was ſeized.

Shaw Jehân's party defeated in Guzerat.

Shaw Jehân, after the rencounter at the River Genîva, fled to Mando, the capital of Malava. News was brought to him in that city, that Guzerat was loſt. He was much affected; but Abdalla made light of the matter. That Omrah marched toward Ahmedabad with ſeven thouſand horſe. When he arrived

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at Waſſet, he found Suffvi, now the Imperial Suba, ready unexpectedly to receive him. This lord, finding that prince Dawir Buxſh and Chan Azem had lagged on their march, provided himſelf with an army. He poſted his forces about twelve miles from Ahmedabad. Abdalla endeavoured to turn his rear. He was prevented by the vigilance of Suffvi; and he, therefore, reſolved to come to battle. Dividing his army into three columns, he advanced, in that order, upon the enemy. Naſir Chan ſupported Suffvi, with his courage and conduct. The battle was obſtinate. Many officers of rank fell on the ſide of Abdalla. He was routed, with great ſlaughter. He fled to Surat. The country people cut off the greateſt part of the ſhattered remains of his followers in their retreat. He ſoon after, with a few troops, betook himſelf to Brampour.

Purvez defeats Shaw Jehân at the Nirbidda.

The prince Purvez and Mohâbet, after the affair at the river Genîva, returned to the Emperor, who was encamped under the walls of Fattépour. The diſturbances in Guzerat convinced Jehangire, that the flames of civil war could be only extinguiſhed by the total ruin of Shaw Jehân. He, therefore, ordered Purvez and Mohâbet, at the head of the Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, to purſue the rebel and to take him alive. Shaw Jehân left Mando, with a reſolution to try his fortune in a battle. He paſſed the river Nirbidda and threw up works to defend the ford. He was, by this time, reduced to great diſtreſs. His adherents gradually deſerted him. He became tired of hoſtilities which promiſed no ſucceſs. He ſent to his brother Purvez, for very moderate terms. Purvez, by the advice of Mohâbet, amuſed him with hopes, without coming to any determined point. The uſual precautions were neglected on the ſide of Shaw Jehân; and Mohâbet, who watched an opportunity, croſſed the river and ſurprized him in his camp. He was defeated with great ſlaughter.

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Shaw Jehân flies to Orixa.

Shah Jehân fled from the field, through Golconda; and then took the rout of Orixa, to Bengal. The governor of Orixa, Ahmed Beg, fled on the prince's approach. That province was given to Kulli Chan, one of Shaw Jehân's adherents; whilſt he himſelf advanced to Burdwan, and took poſſeſſion of that diſtrict. He did not continue long at Burdwan. Ibrahim, governor of Bengal, had collected all his forces to Raja Mâhil, to oppoſe the unexpected invaſion; and Shaw Jehân marched toward the place.

Enters Bengal, and defeats the Suba.

When the prince had arrived within a few miles of Raja Mâhil, the Suba abandoned that fortreſs as untenable. He retreated, in good order, to the fort of Tellia-Gurri; which had been built to defend the paſs between the mountains and the Ganges. In the fort were a number of Europeans. He ſtrengthened them with a reinforcement of his beſt troops, whilſt he encamped his army on the oppoſite bank of the river. Shaw Jehân, upon his arrival, inveſted the fort of Tellia-Gurri. He made little impreſſion; the Europeans being excellent gunners and engineers. He attempted to croſs, but was repulſed, having but a few boats. A neighbouring Raja, however, provided the prince with a fleet of boats; and in theſe he tranſported two thouſand horſe. Ibrahim, finding that he was to be attacked in his camp, croſſed the river in his turn. He drew up in order of battle, againſt the prince; but in the action his troops were defeated and he himſelf ſlain. Bengal fell, with the Suba, from the empire. Rumi, the chief engineer of Shaw Jehân, in the mean time, found means to carry a mine, under the fort of Tellia-Gurri, and blew up about twenty yards of the rampire. The place was taken by aſſault, and the garriſon put to the ſword.

Bengal ſubmits;

Shaw Jehân, after this great and unexpected ſucceſs attending his arms, marched to Dacca, where Ibrahim, the late Suba, had

depoſited

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depoſited his own and the Imperial treaſure. He no ſooner appeared before Dacca, than it ſurrendered. Forty lacks of roupees were found in ſpecie, beſides jewels, much ſpoil, and warlike ſtores. Dacca was the laſt place in Bengal, that held out for the emperor. The Rajas, the hereditary governors of diſtricts, and all thoſe who held eſtates of the crown, crowded into the court of the prince; and with preſents and proffers of allegiance, endeavoured to ſecure their poſſeſſions. The whole kingdom received a new ſovereign; and Darab, the ſon of Chan Chanan, was raiſed to the high office of Suba under Shaw Jehân.

and Behâr.

The ambition of the prince was not to be confined to Bengal. He turned his eyes upon the adjoining province of Behâr. He ſcarce had permitted his army to breathe after the conqueſt of Dacca, before he led them into Behâr. Muchlis Chan, the Imperial governor of that province, fled to Allahabad, at the approach of the prince. The gates of Patna, the capital, were left open to receive him. He kept his court in the Suba's palace. The Zemindârs crowded, from all quarters, into the city, made their ſubmiſſion, and, with preſents, obtained his favour. But what was of greater conſequence to the prince, Mubârick, governor of the impregnable fort of Rhotas, which had never been taken by force, came and preſented to him the keys. Shaw Jehân was exceedingly rejoiced at this piece of good fortune. He had now a place of ſecurity for his family; and he found his mind, as alleviated from care, fitter to encounter the dangers of the field and the viciſſitudes of fortune.

He divides his army into three parts.

The prince having reſtored the civil government of Behâr, which had been ruined by his invaſion, raiſed Naſir Chan to the office of Suba. He himſelf took again the field. He divided his army into three parts. The firſt he placed under the com-

mand

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mand of Abdalla, who had been lately ſo unfortunate in Guzerat. He ordered that officer to proceed to Allahabad, with his diviſion; to drive away the Suba of Behâr from thence, and to take poſſeſſion of the place. Deria Chan was placed, by the prince, over the ſecond diviſion. That general was ordered to reduce the country round Jionpour. The third diviſion Shaw Jehân, in perſon, commanded. He advanced, by very ſlow marches to Benaris, hearing complaints, deciding cauſes, and ſettling the government of the country, as he went.

Purvez advances toward him.

Fortune hitherto favoured the arms of the rebellious prince. Purvez with Mohâbet Chan had purſued the fugitives, from the affair at the Nirbidda, into the heart of Golconda. At Hydrabad they gave over the purſuit; and began to employ themſelves in reſettling the affairs of the Decan, which the rebellion of Shaw Jehân had very much deranged. The news of the loſs of the eaſtern provinces alarmed Mohâbet: Even Jehangire, who paſſed his time in voluptuouſneſs, with his favourite Noor-Mâhil, was rouzed from his lethargy. He diſpatched expreſs after expreſs to Purvez. The march of Shaw Jehân toward the capital, determined Mohâbet to endeavour to intercept him on his way. He marched with Purvez through Malava and Behâr. He croſſed the Jumna at Calpé, and the Ganges at Babere. The Imperial army came up with Deria, who commanded one of the three diviſions of the rebels, at Manicpour. He was inſtantly defeated; and he fell back to Benâris. Abdalla, at the ſame time, evacuated Allahabad, and joined Shaw Jehân. A council of war was called. Their deliberation was ſhort. They reſolved to give immediate battle to Purvez and Mohâbet.

Preparations for action.

The reſolution was ſcarce taken, when the Imperialiſts appeared in ſight. No time was to be loſt. Shaw Jehân drew up

his

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his army on the banks of a brook called Toniſh. Abdalla commanded the right wing; Naſir Chan the left; the prince himſelf took his poſt in the center. The advanced guards were commanded by Raja Bimè: and the whole field was marſhalled by Sujait Chan, who was at the head of the reſerve in the rear. The artillery, under the direction of Rumi was drawn up in one place before the center, inſtead of being diſpoſed properly along the line. The army of the rebels exceeded forty thouſand horſe: the Imperaliſts were more in number.

The army of Shaw Jehân

Mohâbet, in the mean time, was not idle. He formed in order of battle the army of Prince Purvez. His ſuperiority in point of numbers, enabled him to out-flank the enemy. The particulars of his diſpoſition are not related.---The action was begun by the artillery on the ſide of Shaw Jehân. But more than a thouſand ſhot were expended before one took place: the enemy being yet at too great a diſtance, Mohâbet would not permit his artillery to play, till he was ſure of doing execution. The cannonade continued near an hour. Some of Rumi's guns were diſmounted, his men were driven from others. Shaw Jehân immediately ordered his advanced guard to charge a body of the Imperialiſts, who were coming forward, with haſty ſtrides, to ſeize his artillery. The two advanced parties fought with great bravery. Thoſe of Shaw Jehân at length gave ground. Raja Bimè, who commanded them, preferred death to flight. He ſtood, with a few gallant friends, and was cut to pieces.

totally defeated.

Mohâbet, obſerving the defeat of the enemy's advanced guard, came forward briſkly, with his whole line; and fell, with great fury, on the center, where Shaw Jehân commanded in perſon. The ſhock was violent, but did not laſt. The prince was driven back from his guns, which were ſeized by Mohâbet. Sujait Chan, who commanded the reſerve of the rebels, threw himſelf into the interval left by Shaw Jehân's retreat. He fought, for ſome time, with great bravery, and furniſhed the prince with an opportunity of rallying his broken ſquadrons. But Sujait was, in his turn, defeated; and driven back in great confuſion. Shaw Jehân advanced to the charge: but advice was brought him, that Naſir was defeated on the left; and that ſome of the enemy, who had paſſed his flanks, were ſeen advancing in his rear.

His bravery.

The deſperate ſituation of the prince ſuggeſted to him a deſperate reſolution. He advanced as if he heard not the meſſenger, and plunged into the thickeſt of the enemy. He was followed by five hundred horſe. This ſmall body, devoting themſelves to death with their leader, were irreſiſtible. They effected more by deſpair than the whole army had done by courage. Mohâbet received a check, when he leaſt expected it. He began to retreat: but Shaw Jehân was not properly ſupported. His officers conſidered the battle as loſt, and refuſed to advance. Abdalla, who had hitherto maintained his ground on the right, received a meſſage from the prince. He returned for anſwer, that all hopes of victory were gone, and that the beſt retreat they could make, was now the only thing left them by fortune. The prince was enraged. He reſolved to die. His companions, ſeizing his horſe by the reins, forced him from the field. He fled not, but he was carried to the fort of Rhotas. The rich plunder of his camp ſaved him from being purſued.

He flies toward the Decan.

Sultan Purvez and Mohâbet, having ſtopt for a few days to refreſh their army, after the fatigues of a long march and an obſtinate battle, took the route of Bengal. Shaw Jehân left his family in the fortreſs of Rhotas. He collected the remains of his defeated army. He marched to Patna, and prepared to defend that city. He, however,

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ever, evacuated the place at the approach of his brother. He fled through Bengal. Purvez was cloſe at his heels. Shaw Jehân took the route of the Decan, by the way of Cuttack. Bengal, Behâr and Orixa fell into the hands of Purvez. That prince and Mohâbet ſpent ſome time in reſettling the government of the three provinces; and when the current of regulation and law was reſtored to its ancient channel, they marched after Shaw Jehân into the Decan, by the northern road.

Beſieges Brampour.

Though Shaw Jehân's affairs were, to all appearance, ruined, he found reſources in his own active mind. During the time that Purvez and Mohâbet remained in the recovered provinces, he found means to attach to his party the Raja of Ambere. By the junction of the Raja's forces, he found himſelf in a condition to ſit down before the city of Brampour. He had reduced it to great diſtreſs, when the Imperial army, under Purvez and Mohâbet, arrived on the banks of the Nirbidda. He had not a force ſufficient to oppoſe them: he raiſed the ſiege, and took ſhelter in the mountains of Ballagat. In his retreat he made an attempt on the caſtle of Haſſer. This is a ſtrong fortreſs on the frontiers of Chandeiſh. It ſtands upon the top of a mountain: it has ſprings of water, and of good ſoil a ſufficiency to maintain with its produce four thouſand men. As all acceſs to the fortreſs is impracticable, he might have waited there for the change which time might make in his fortunes. He was repulſed.

His affairs ruined.

This latter piece of bad ſucceſs completed the ruin of his party. His nobles firſt deſerted him; and they were followed by the private ſoldiers. A thouſand horſe only remained. His ſpirits ſunk within him; his misfortunes oppreſſed him; his guilt and folly were always preſent to his mind. Sickneſs was added to his other miſeries. He was hunted, like a wild beaſt, from place to place.

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place. All mankind were his enemies; and he was their foe. Where he thought he could not overcome, he fled: he ſpread devaſtation through places where he could prevail. He was, however, tired of rapine; worn down by contention and hoſtility. He wrote letters of compunction to his father. He enlarged on his own guilt; he even added, if poſſible, to his own wretchedneſs and misfortune. Jehangire was often full of affection; he was always weak. He was ſhocked at the miſerable condition of a ſon, whom he once had loved. His tears fell upon the part of Shaw Jehân's letter which mentioned guilt; and his crimes vaniſhed from memory.

He is pardoned.

In the midſt of this returning ſoftneſs, Jehangire was not altogether void of policy. He wrote to his ſon, that if he would give orders to the governors of Rhotas, of Azere, and other places, which were ſtill held out in his name, to deliver up their forts; and, ſend his three ſons, Dara, Aurungzebe, and Murâd, to court, and at the ſame time accompany them, he would be forgiven for his paſt crimes. Shaw Jehân embraced the offer with joy. He delivered up the forts; he ſent his children to Agra. He, however, found various pretences for not appearing in perſon at court. He alleged that he was aſhamed to ſee a father whom he had ſo much injured; but he was actually afraid of the machinations of the favourite Sultana. He made excurſions, under a pretence of pleaſure, through all parts of the empire, attended by five hundred horſe. He was ſometimes heard of at Ajmere, ſometimes at Tata on the Indus; and again, in the Decan.

Candahar loſt to the empire.

In the rebellion of Shaw Jehân, we loſt ſight of the Perſian invaſion, under Shaw Abas. The ſovereigns of Perſia had long laid claim to the city of Candahar. They endeavoured often to

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obtain it by negociation, and often by force. They had failed in the firſt; and they were not ſuccesſful in the latter, till the civil diſtractions of India furniſhed them with an undiſturbed opportunity of beſieging the place. When the Perſian invaſion happened, Candahar was but ſlightly garriſoned. The place, however, held out with vigour, till Shaw Abbas appeared before it in perſon. It ſurrendered to that monarch; and the news of the misfortune met Ruſtum Suffavi at Lahore, as he was on his march to relieve the beſieged. The Perſians, after the capture of Candahar, retreated; and Jehangire, having occaſion for all his troops to quell domeſtic diſturbances, ſat ſilently down with the loſs.

Irruption of the Uſbecks.

Shaw Abas had ſcarce retreated, when the Uſbeck Tartars, encouraged by his ſucceſs and the civil diſſentions in Hindoſtan, invaded the province of Ghizni, and took ſeveral ſmall forts. When the news of this invaſion arrived at court, Chana-zâd, the ſon of Mohâbet, was ſent from Caſhmire, with ſome troops, to oppoſe the invaders. This young officer attacked them with vigour on all occaſions, and, in general, with great ſucceſs. They were, at length, after an obſtinate and bloody war, which continued nine months, driven out of the empire. The conqueror purſued the fugitives, and laid waſte a part of their country.

JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. V.

Mohâbet in favour—Accuſed of intended treaſon—Ordered to court—Machinations of his enemies—Indignities offered him—He reſolves to ſeize the emperor—He takes him in his tent—Defeats the viſier—Condemns the Sultana to death—But pardons her—Governs the empire—Attacked by the citizens of Cabul—He lays down his power—Obliged to fly—Sent againſt Shaw Jehân—Death of prince Purvez—His character—Death of Chan Chanan.

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Mohâbet in high favour.

THE valour and abilities of Mohâbet, in conducting the war againſt Shaw Jehân, raiſed ſentiments of gratitude in the breaſt of Jehangire. His ſon, Channa Zâd, had been lately gratified with the government of Cabul; and others, his relations and friends, were advanced to lucrative and honourable employments. The great victory near Benâris confirmed the emperor's high opinion of Mohâbet, and the news of that important event filled him with exceſſive joy. His grateful feelings for his general roſe in proportion to the decreaſe of his fears for his throne. Theſe ſentiments, however, did not long continue. Mohâbet had a great many enemies: his ſovereign had but little firmneſs. The abilities of the former had raiſed envy; and nature had given to the latter a diſpoſition too eaſy and pliant, to be proof againſt miſrepreſentation. To explain the cauſes of an event which almoſt transferred the empire from the houſe of Timur to other hands, we muſt look back to ſome circumſtances prior to this period.

Chan

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Accuſed of intended treaſon.

Chan Chanan, mentioned as the tutor of Purvez, in his government of Candeiſh, had, through ſome diſguſt, attached himſelf to the fortunes of Shaw Jehân, when that prince ſucceeded his brother in the command of the Imperial army in the Decan. It was by that lord's advice, that he cut off Chuſero: by his advice he rebelled againſt his father. He accompanied the prince in his expedition to Agra and Delhi; and, though he took no part in the fatigues of the field, he ruled in the cabinet. When the affairs of Shaw Jehân became deſperate, after his retreat to the Decan, he adviſed him to ſue for a pardon, through his brother Purvez. He himſelf undertook to be his meſſenger to Purvez, to whoſe temper and character he could have been no ſtranger. When he arrived in the Imperial camp, he found no diſpoſition in Mohâbet to relinquiſh by terms, the advantages which had been obtained by the ſword. Having failed in his endeavours for the prince, he applied for himſelf. Mohâbet was ſhocked at this reiteration of treachery; and he perſuaded Purvez to throw him and his family into priſon. The latter were ſent, under an eſcort, to Agra; he himſelf was detained, in cloſe confinement, in the camp, and his eſtate was confiſcated by an Imperial edict.

The grounds of the accuſation.

After the deciſive battle near Benâris, the province of Bengal, which had been reduced by Shaw Jehân, fell at once into the hands of the conquerors. Purvez, who had a commiſſion from his father to govern the eaſtern provinces, conferred the ſubaſhip of Bengal upon Mohâbet, who ſent his ſon Channa Zâd, lately arrived in the army, to manage his government in his own abſence. Dara the ſon of Chan Chanan, had been made ſuba of Bengal, by Shaw Jehân. That young lord was ſeized by the people, and delivered into the hands of Channa Zâd, as ſoon as he arrived at the capital of the province. He immediately ſent

Dara to his father; who, having informed the emperor of that circumſtance, received orders to put him to death, as an obſtinate rebel. Mohâbet obeyed, and ſent the unfortunate ſuba's head to Agra.

His enemies at court.

Chan Chanan, though confined in the camp of Purvez, found means, by letters, to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the Sultana, and her brother the viſier. The two laſt had been long the enemies of Mohâbet; and the former imputed the death of his ſon to that lord, and was reſolved to revenge the injury. He wrote to the Sultana: he ſent letters to Aſiph. He informed them that Mohâbet was forming deſigns to raiſe Purvez to the throne. This was carried to the emperor's ears. He ordered Chan Chanan to be releaſed: and that Omrah, who remained with Purvez, accuſed Mohâbet, by letters to the emperor, of intended treaſon.

The emperor alarmed.

Jehangire, naturally ſuſpicious, was alarmed. The ſpirit of jealouſy and diſtruſt took poſſeſſion of his mind. He forgot the ſervices of Mohâbet in his own fears. He ordered him to court; and raiſed Chan Jehân Lodi from the government of Guzerat to the command of the army under Purvez. Mohâbet, before the emperor's orders arrived, had ſet out with Purvez, for Bengal. He had been guilty of a neglect, which gave colour to the accuſations of his enemies. The elephants taken in battle are Imperial property. Theſe he had retained, together with the preſents which his ſon Channa Zâd had received in reſettling the province. A ſecond peremptory order was ſent to him. He was acquainted, that he was appointed to the ſubaſhip of Punjâb; but that the emperor deprived him of Lahore, which had been uſually annexed to that government. He was thunderſtruck at the ſudden change in the emperor's mind. He reſolved to obey. He went to take his leave of Purvez. The

prince

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Mohâbet commanded to court.

Senſible of his own abilities, conſcious of his honour, elevated by his reputation in war, Mohâbet was diſguſted, beyond meaſure, at this return for his ſervices. He reſolved to retire to his caſtle of Rintimpour: but an order arrived to deliver that fortreſs into the hands of one of the Sultana's creatures. This latter circumſtance confirmed what his friends at court had written to him before, that his life was in danger, ſhould he truſt himſelf in the Imperial preſence. He wrote to Jehangire. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at his diſpleaſure. He declared his perfect confidence in the honour of his prince; but he expreſſed his well-grounded diſtruſt of his adviſers. The letter produced nothing but an order for his immediate appearance at court. To refuſe was to rebel. He wrote again to the emperor. "I will," ſays he, "ſerve my ſovereign with my life againſt his enemies, but I will not expoſe it to the malice of his friends. Aſſure me of ſafety, and I will clear myſelf in the preſence." Jehangire, upon receiving this letter, was enraged. He diſpatched a courier, with his laſt commands for his appearance. He at length reſolved to obey. Five thouſand Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, from an affection for their general, offered him their ſervice to conduct him to court. Eſcorted by theſe, he took the rout of Lahore, where the emperor, at the time, reſided.

He obeys.

On the eighteenth of April 1626, Jehangire ſet out from Lahore toward Cabul. News was brought to the Imperial camp that Mohâbet had ſent before him the elephants taken at the battle of Benâris; and that he himſelf followed, with a retinue of five thouſand Rajaputs. The Sultana and the viſier were ſtruck with a double terror. They were afraid of a reconciliation:

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ciliation: they were afraid of his force. They perſuaded the emperor not to admit him into the camp. When, therefore, he arrived near the tents, he was ordered to ſtop, till he accounted for the revenues of Bengal, and the plunder taken at the battle of Benâris. Mohâbet was enraged: he diſpatched his ſon-in-law to the emperor, to complain of an indignity ſo unworthy of his fidelity and ſervices. He could not have choſen a worſe meſſenger. The emperor had been much offended with Mohâbet, for giving his daughter in marriage without his conſent; and he had reſolved to be revenged. When, therefore, the young lord alighted from his elephant in the Imperial ſquare, he was ſuddenly ſeized; he was ſtript of his clothes, covered with rags, baſtinadoed, and ſent out of the camp riding backward on a ſorry jade, amid the ſhouts of the whole army.

His meſſenger groſsly affronted.

The intelligence of this groſs affront came to Mohâbet, before the diſhonoured youth appeared. He bore it with ſeeming patience. He was ſhocked at the weakneſs of the emperor, which had yielded ſo much to the malice of a vindictive woman. He ſeparated, by degrees, his retinue from the camp. He found he could not truſt himſelf in the hands of his enemies; and he took at once a bold reſolution. The emperor was on his march to Cabul, and he reſolved to watch his motions. He hovered, during the night, round the ſkirts of the camp; and the morning preſented a favourable opportunity for the execution of his ſcheme.

He ſurpriſes the emperor in his tent,

When Mohâbet arrived, the Imperial army lay encamped on the banks of the Behat or Gelum, at the end of the bridge, on the high-road which led to Cabul. The advanced guard began to move over the bridge in the morning, and was gradually followed by the other troops. The emperor remained in the old camp.

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camp. He was not in an enemy's country, and he uſed no precautions. When the greateſt part of the army had paſſed, Mohâbet ſuddenly advanced with his faithful Rajaputs. He ſeized the bridge, and ſet it on fire; leaving two thouſand of his men under the command of his ſon, to defend the flames, and to ſtop the return of the enemy. Having made this diſpoſition, he rode with great ſpeed to the Imperial ſquare. He was firſt obſerved by the officers of the houſehold, paſſing by the haram in ſeeming diſorder. His countenance was pale, but determined. They were alarmed; and he ruſhed forward to the emperor's tent.

takes him

The writer of the Acbal Namma, who was then lord of the wardrobe, ſuſpecting that Mohâbet meant to aſſaſſinate the emperor, drew his ſword, and followed him with great ſpeed. The Omrahs in waiting did the ſame. When they had advanced to the Imperial tent, they found Mohâbet ſurrounded by five hundred Rajaputs on foot, ſtanding at the door, with ſwords by their ſides and pikes in their hands. The lords were immediately ſeized and diſarmed. The emperor, hearing the noiſe and confuſion without, cut his way through the ſcreens, and entered the bathing-tent, which was behind his ſleeping apartment. Mohâbet alighted and entered; not finding the emperor, he preſſed forward with forty Rajaputs, to the bathing-tent. Some of the Imperial guards ſtood at the door. The officer who commanded them, ſternly aſked Mohâbet, Why he preſumed to intrude on the emperor's privacy? He anſwered him, by putting his hand upon his ſword and frowning upon him, with a determined countenance. A panic ſeized the guards. They made way for him to paſs. In the outer apartment of the bathing-tent, ſtood many Omrahs of high rank. They drew their ſwords; but the Rajaputs ſurrounding them, they thought proper to deliver up their arms.

The

prisoner,

The news of this inſult was carried to the emperor by ſome of the women who attended him in the inner tent. He ſeized his ſword, and was about to aſſault Mohâbet, when he ſaw his guards and nobles diſarmed. He dropt his point; and ſaid, "What doſt thou mean, Mohâbet Chan?" Mohâbet touching the ground and then his forehead with his hand, thus replied: "Forced by the machinations of my enemies, who plot againſt my life, I throw myſelf under the protection of my ſovereign."—"You are ſafe,"—anſwered the emperor; "but what would theſe, who ſtand armed behind you?"—"They want full ſecurity," rejoined Mohâbet, "for me and my family; and without it, they will not retire." "—I underſtand you," ſaid Jehangire: "name your terms, and they ſhall be granted. But you do me an injuſtice, Mohâbet; I did not plot againſt your life. I knew your ſervices, though I was offended at your ſeeming diſobedience to my commands. Be aſſured of my protection: I ſhall forget the conduct which neceſſity has impoſed upon you."

and carries him

Mohâbet, without naming his conditions, obſerved to the emperor, that it was now time to take his daily amuſement of hunting. Without waiting for a reply, he ordered his own horſe to be brought. Jehangire declined mounting him: Mohâbet ſeemed not to liſten. "Then, Mohâbet Chan," ſaid the emperor, "if ſtill I have a horſe of my own, I will mount him." One was brought him. They rode ſlowly away together, ſurrounded by the Rajaputs. When they had advanced beyond the ſkirts of the camp, Mohâbet obſerved to the emperor, That it would be prudent for him to mount an elephant, to avoid any accident that might happen in the confuſion which was likely to enſue. Jehangire had now no will of his own. He mounted the elephant; and three Rajaputs, under a pretence of defending him, mounted by his ſide.

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to his own camp.

The emperor had ſcarce placed himſelf on the elephant, when Muckirrib Chan, one of the officers of ſtate, preſſing through the Rajaputs, climbed up the elephant's ſide, and ſat down by his ſovereign. He was threatened by the Rajaputs. He was obſtinate, and would not ſtir. One ſlightly cut him on the forehead with his ſabre; but he was not to be moved. They had now proceeded near a mile from the camp, when ſome of the officers of the houſehold, mounted upon elephants, came up, and placed themſelves on the road before the emperor. Mohâbet ordered them to clear the way: they refuſed, and were cut to pieces. He then continued his rout, without further obſtruction, to his own camp. The emperor was brought to his tent: and all ſpectators being removed, Mohâbet explained himſelf to him, proteſting, that he had formed no deſigns neither againſt his life nor his power. "But," concluded he ſternly, "I am determined to be ſafe."

Cuts off Sujait Chan.

Aſiph, the viſier, had croſſed the bridge in the morning with the Imperial army. The Sultana, when Mohâbet was buſy in ſecuring the perſon of the emperor, made her eſcape to her brother. He conſidered, that nothing was done, ſo long as that haughty woman remained out of his power. He reſolved to proſecute his plan, with the ſame reſolute boldneſs with which it was begun. He returned with the emperor to his former camp, on the bank of the Gelum. Sujait Chan, an Omrah of high reputation, had arrived that inſtant to join the Imperial army. He knew the ſituation of affairs; and loudly inveighed, in the preſence of the Rajaputs, againſt Mohâbet. That lord was at once enraged and alarmed. He ordered his troops to fall upon Sujait and his retinue, and every man of them was put to the ſword. The other Omrahs, who had hitherto hovered

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round, ſtruck with the fate of Sujait, fled acroſs the river, and joined the Imperial army.

The viſier determines to reſcue the emperor;

Noor-Jehân was the meſſenger of the diſaſter, which befel the emperor, to her brother Aſiph. He immediately called the Omrahs together: and the Sultana vehemently accuſed thoſe who had been left with Jehangire, of negligence and cowardice. A debate aroſe about the beſt method of reſcuing their ſovereign out of the hands of Mohâbet. The meaſure was full of peril; but it muſt be taken. They agreed to aſſemble their forces by the dawn of next morning; and to endeavour to repaſs the river againſt the rebel. The emperor was apprized of their intentions. He began to fear for his life. Repeated meſſages were ſent to the viſier to deſiſt from his purpoſe; but that miniſter did not think himſelf obliged to obey the commands of an impriſoned monarch, who was under the influence of the man who had ſeized his perſon.

But is defeated

Aſiph begun his march with day. When he came to the bridge, he found it burnt down. He reſolved to ford the river; but the water was ſo deep, that many were drowned. Thoſe who gained the further ſhore, had to fight the enemy at a manifeſt diſadvantage. They were cut off as faſt as they aſcended the bank. A ſucceſſion of victims came to the ſwords of the Rajaputs. The action continued for ſome hours. The rear of the Imperialiſts preſſing into the river, prevented the front from retreating. The Sultana was not a tame ſpectator on the occaſion. Mounted on an elephant, ſhe plunged into the ſtream with her daughter by her ſide. The young lady was wounded in the arm: but her mother preſſed forward. Three of her elephant-drivers were ſucceſſively killed; and the elephant received three wounds on the trunk. Noor-Jehân, in the mean time, emptied

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four quivers of arrows on the enemy. The Rajaputs preſſed into the ſtream to ſeize her; but the maſter of her houſehold, mounting the elephant, turned him away, and carried her out of the river, notwithſtanding her threats and commands.

with great ſlaughter,

Whilſt theſe things happen in the river, Fidai Chan and Abul Haſſen, with ſome other gallant nobles, forming a ſquadron of gentlemen in the rear of the Imperialiſts, plunged into the river and gained the oppoſite ſhore. The ſhock between them and the Rajaputs was violent. The latter gave way, and fled toward the tents of the prince Shariâr, where the emperor remained under a guard. They ſtopt, and the action became bloody. The arrows and ſhot piercing through the tents, the emperor was in imminent danger: but Muchlis Chan, who ſtood near him, covered him with ſhields. In the mean time, Mohâbet re-eſtabliſhed the ranks of the fugitives behind the tents. He turned them, and fell upon the flank of the Imperialiſts. Viſier Bec, Attalla, and ſeveral gallant lords were killed: Fidai was covered with wounds. The ſpirit of his followers began to ſink. Mohâbet preſſed hard upon them; and at length they fled. The field was covered with dead bodies; and a complete victory remained to the Rajaputs.

and taken priſoner.

The runaways, gaining the oppoſite ſide of the river, found their troops diminiſhed and completely ruined. They gave up all thoughts of further reſiſtance: each fled to his own home. The army, in the ſpace of a few hours, was diſſipated. Aſiph fled to his eſtate; and ſhut himſelf up, with five hundred men, in the caſtle of New Rhotas, on the Attoc. The Sultana found means to eſcape to Lahore. Mohâbet diſpatched a meſſenger to Aſiph, with aſſurances of ſafety, ſhould he return to the camp. The viſier would not truſt himſelf in his hands. Meer Berwir,

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The Sultana ſeized.

the ſon of Mohâbet, with a detachment beſieged the fort of Rhotas. Aſiph was ſoon reduced to diſtreſs; and, on the arrival of Mohâbet before the place, that lord, with his ſon Abu Talib, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Noor-Jehân had ſcarce returned to Lahore, when ſhe received letters from the emperor. He acquainted her, that he was treated with reſpect by Mohâbet; and that matters were amicably ſettled between them. He conjured her, therefore, as ſhe regarded his peace and ſafety, to lay aſide all thoughts of hoſtile preparations. He concluded, with commanding her to follow him to Cabul, whither, of his own free choice, he then directed his march. Noor-Jehân did not long heſitate. She ſet out from Lahore, and ſoon came up with her lord. When ſhe arrived, troops were ſent out by Mohâbet, by way of doing her honour. But they were her keepers, and not her guards. They ſurrounded her tent, and watched all her motions.

Condemned to death.

Mohâbet, who carried every thing before him in the preſence, accuſed her publicly of treaſon. He affimed, that ſhe had conſpired againſt the emperor, by eſtranging from him the hearts of his ſubjects: that the moſt cruel and unwarrantable actions had been done, by her capricious orders, in every corner of the empire: that her haughtineſs was the ſource of public calamities, her malignity the ruin of many individuals: that ſhe had even extended her views to the empire, by favouring the ſucceſſion of Shariâr to the throne, under whoſe feeble adminiſtration ſhe hoped to govern India at pleaſure. He therefore inſiſted that a public example ſhould be made of ſo wicked a woman; as a ſign to mankind, that crimes in the moſt exalted perſons ought to meet with no more favour, than iniquities in the mean and low. "You, who are emperor of the Moguls!" ſaid Mohâbet, addreſſing himſelf to Jehangire, "whom we look upon as ſomething more than

human,

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human, ought to follow the example of God, who has no reſpect for perſons."

Saved at the requeſt of the emperor.

Jehangire was too well acquainted with his ſituation to contradict Mohâbet. He owned the juſtice of the accuſation, and he ſigned a warrant for her death. Being excluded from his preſence, her charms had loſt their irreſiſtible influence over him; and when his paſſions did not thwart the natural bias of his mind, he was always juſt. The dreadful meſſage was delivered to the Sultana. She heard it without emotion. "Impriſoned ſovereigns," ſaid ſhe, "loſe their right to life with their freedom; but permit me for once to ſee the emperor, and to bathe with my tears the hand that has fixed the ſeal to the warrant of death." She was brought before her huſband, in the preſence of Mohâbet. Her beauty ſhone with additional luſtre through her ſorrow. She uttered not one word. Jehangire burſt into tears. "Will you not ſpare this woman, Mohâbet?" ſaid the emperor; "you ſee how ſhe weeps."—"The emperor of the Moguls," replied Mohâbet, "ſhould never aſk in vain." The guards retired from her, at a wave of his hand; and ſhe was reſtored that inſtant to her former attendants.

March to Cabul.

The friends of Mohâbet diſapproved of his generoſity, and he had cauſe to repent of it himſelf. The Sultana lived not to thank her forgiver, but to revenge herſelf. The Imperial camp moved to Cabul. Mohâbet, without appearing to command, directed every thing at court. The emperor implicitly followed his advice; and he even ſeemed to harbour no reſentment againſt him for the paſt. He had long known his abilities; he was now convinced of his integrity and generoſity. Naturally fond of indolence and pleaſure himſelf, he could not wiſh to have left the affairs of the ſtate in better hands. The attention paid him by

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Mohâbet, eradicated every idea of bondage: and the weight which his edicts carried, from their preciſion and wiſdom, reconciled his ſituation to his pride, by the obedience which was paid to them over all the empire.

Deſigns of the Sultana againſt Mohâbet

Six months had paſſed in Cabul in an apparent harmony between the monarch and his miniſter. The buſy ſpirit of Noor-Jehân was, in the mean time, hatching miſchief. She concealed her ſchemes ſo effectually, that they eſcaped the penetrating eyes of Mohâbet. The emperor reſided in his palace at Cabul: the miniſter lay every night in the camp of his Rajaputs, without the walls. When he came one morning to pay his reſpects at court with his retinue, the citizens, at the inſtigation of the Sultana, attacked him from both ends of a narrow ſtreet. Some, poſted in windows on either ſide, fired upon him with muſquets. He turned back, and forced his way to his camp. He arrived among the Rajaputs unhurt: his followers were all either wounded or ſlain. The citizens did not reſt here. They fell upon the guards, which he had placed round the emperor; and put five hundred to the ſword.

defeated.

Mohâbet, enraged at the perfidy of the Cabulians, prepared to take ample revenge. He blocked up the city, with his army. The maſſacre within was diſcontinued. Fear ſucceeded to rage. The principal inhabitants, laying the whole blame upon the rabble, came out in the moſt ſuppliant manner to Mohâbet. Jehangire, who diſclaimed all knowledge of the tumult, interceded for them; and the enraged miniſter ſpared the city, after having puniſhed the moſt notorious ringleaders of the inſurgents. He, however, declared, that he would never enter the perfidious city of Cabul: he gave directions to the emperor to quit it the next day,

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day, and, having made the neceſſary preparations, the Imperial camp moved in a few days toward Lahore.

Mohâbet reſigns his power.

On the way to Lahore, Mohâbet took a ſudden reſolution to throw up his power. He had no intentions himſelf upon the empire; and he had triumphed over his enemies, and ſerved his friends. He exacted, and obtained from Jehangire, the moſt ſolemn promiſes of oblivion for the paſt; and he reſtored that prince to all his former conſequence and power. He promiſed to aſſiſt him with his advice; and to ſhew his ſincerity, he diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his guards and attendants. This conduct was noble; but he had gone too far to retreat. Gratitude is not ſo ſtrong a paſſion as revenge. The weak forget favours; but the haughty never forgive indignities. The Sultana kept freſh in her memory her diſgrace; ſhe remembered her danger from Mohâbet. She applied to Jehangire for his immediate death. She urged ſpecious arguments to ſtrengthen her requeſt. "A man," ſaid ſhe, "who is ſo daring as to ſeize the perſon of his ſovereign, is a dangerous ſubject. The luſtre of royalty muſt be diminiſhed, continued the Sultana, in the eyes of the people, whilſt he who pulled his prince from the throne, is permitted to kneel before it with feigned allegiance." Jehangire was ſhocked at her propoſal. He commanded her to be ſilent.

He is obliged to fly.

She was ſilent, but ſhe did not drop her deſign. She reſolved to take off by private treachery the man whom ſhe failed to bring to a public death. She contrived to place one of her eunuchs behind the curtain, with orders to ſhoot Mohâbet, when he ſhould next come to pay his reſpects in the preſence. Jehangire overheard her commands to the ſlave. He acquainted Mohâbet with the ſnare laid for his life; inſinuating that his power was not ſufficient to protect him from private treachery, though he was reſolved

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reſolved to ſave him from public diſgrace. Mohâbet was alarmed. He eſcaped from the camp. The army lay that day on the banks of the Gelum, in the very ſpot where the emperor had ſeven months before been ſeized. Mohâbet, after having the whole power of the empire in his hands, was obliged to fly from that very place, without a ſingle attendant. He carried nothing with him but his life: his wealth was left in the Imperial camp, and became the property of Noor-Jehân. His flight had ſcarce become public, when an edict was iſſued by the Sultana's procurement, to all the governors of provinces to make diligent ſearch for him. He was declared a rebel, and a reward was put upon his head.

His conference

Aſiph diſapproved of his ſiſter's violence. He knew the merit of Mohâbet: he was not forgetful of his kindneſs to himſelf, when under his power. He was tired, beſides, of the weakneſs of Jehangire, and of the Sultana's tyranny. He, however, obſerved a cautious ſilence. His power depended upon his ſiſter; and ſhe was haughty as well as vindictive. Mohâbet flew from place to place. He took, at firſt, the route of Tatta; but the unfortunate have enemies every where. The boldneſs, which had lately raiſed him to the ſummit of power, forſook him not in his diſtreſs. He mounted his horſe; and rode ſolitary near four hundred miles, to throw himſelf into the converſation of Aſiph. That miniſter, at the time, was in the Imperial camp at Karnal, on the road between Lahore and Delhi. Mohâbet, in a mean habit, entered the camp when it was dark; and about nine o'clock placed himſelf in the paſſage, which led from the apartments of Aſiph to the Haram. The eunuch, who ſtood at the door, queſtioned Mohâbet. He knew that lord by his voice; but he aſſured him of his fidelity. Mohâbet told him, that he wiſhed to ſpeak to his lord on affairs of the laſt moment. The viſier came.

with Aſiph

When Aſiph ſaw the low condition into which he, who lately commanded the empire, was fallen, he could ſcarce refrain from tears. He took him in his arms: they retired in ſilence to a ſecret place. Mohâbet, after mentioning the ingratitude of Noor-Jehân, complained of the imbecillity of the emperor, and plainly told the viſier, that, low as he was reduced, he was determined to raiſe up another ſovereign in India. "Purvez," continued Mohâbet, "is a virtuous man, and my friend. But he is eaſy and pliant; and we muſt not change one weak prince for another. I know the merit of Shaw Jehân; I have fought againſt him; and when I conquered, I gained not a victory but my own life. He ſuits the times. He is ambitious, and ſometimes ſevere; but he will aggrandize the empire abroad, and add vigour and preciſion to the laws at home."—Aſiph was overjoyed at this declaration. He was connected in friendſhip as well as in affinity with Shaw Jehân. "You muſt go hence with ſpeed," ſaid Aſiph; "and I will endeavour to procure your pardon. The emperor, who is not averſe to you, will liſten to my requeſt; eſpecially as Shaw Jehân, with whom you alone are able to cope in the field, is in arms. I ſhall procure for you an army, which you ſhall uſe as the circumſtances of the time will demand."

In favour of Shaw Jehân.

The two Omrahs, having ſworn ſidelity to one another, parted. Mohâbet, mounting his horſe, dived into the night: Aſiph went into the preſence. The emperor was much alarmed at the news from the Decan, that his rebellious ſon had collected an army. He regretted the loſs of Mohâbet, and Aſiph took that opportunity of ſuing for his pardon. The emperor, in the warmth of his zeal againſt his ſon, ordered an edict of indemnity to be forthwith iſſued, which reſtored Mohâbet to his honours and eſtates. A commiſſion was given him to command the army againſt Shaw Jehân; and the ceremony of giving thanks in the preſence, was diſpenſed with in his favour, as he could not truſt his life to the mercy of Noor-Jehân.

Death of Purvez.

An event, however, happened, which rendered theſe preparations againſt Shaw Jehân unneceſſary. That prince deſiſted from his new enterprize without the interpoſition of force. When Mohâbet carried all before him at court, his friend and pupil, the prince Purvez, remained at the head of the army, and commanded all the eaſtern and ſouthern provinces in great tranquillity. He took no notice of his father's confinement; and he uſed no means for his releaſement. He knew that Mohâbet had no deſigns upon the empire; and he was rather pleaſed, with a check upon the emperor, which might prove an excuſe to himſelf, from being bound by his commands. In the midſt of the inſenſibility and tranquillity of Purvez, he was ſeized by an apoplexy, which carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

His character.

Sultan Purvez was one of thoſe harmleſs men that paſs without either envy or fame through life. Deſtitute of thoſe violent paſſions which agitate the animated and ambitious, he was never completely happy, nor thoroughly miſerable. Eaſe was his only comfort; toil his ſole averſion. Though battles were gained in his name, he was rather an incumbrance to an army, than the ſpring which ſhould move the whole. Without ambition to command, he thought it no indignity to obey. He approved of the counſel of others, without ever propoſing his own. He was in ſhort an uſeful engine in the hands of an able general. There was a kind of comity in his manner, which commanded

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manded reſpect, where he impreſſed no awe; and even men who knew his weakneſs, liſtened with attention to his commands. His conſtitution was feeble and lethargic; his life a perpetual ſlumber. Had he lived, he was deſtined for the throne; and, as he had no paſſions to gratify, the happineſs or miſery of his reign would depend on thoſe whom chance might place around him. His death was regretted, more, perhaps, than that of an abler man might have been. He never committed injuries, and mankind gave him credit for benevolence. Mohâbet mourned him as a good-natured friend; Jehangire as a dutiful ſon. The contraſt which the character of his brother preſented, juſtified the ſentiments of both.

Affairs at Court, and in the Decan.

When Mohâbet fled, Noor-Jehân governed the empire without controul. While yet he held the reins of government, he had ſent orders to his ſon Channa-Zâd, Suba of Bengal, to ſend him the ſurplus of the revenues of that country. Twenty-two lacks, under an eſcort, were advanced as far as Delhi, when the flight of Mohâbet happened; and the ſame meſſenger, who brought the news of the treaſure to the emperor, brought him alſo intelligence of the death of Purvez. Jehangire was affected, beyond meaſure, at the loſs of his ſon: he never had diſobeyed his commands, and his manner was naturally engaging and pleaſing.—The command of the army devolved upon Chan Jehân Lodi. He was ordered to ſend his family to court as hoſtages for his faith.—An unexpected war furniſhed a field for the abilities of Lodi. The Nizam raiſed diſturbances; but he was reduced, without battle, to terms.

Death of Chan Chanan.

Chan Chanan, who, after his releaſe from confinement, had remained with Purvez in the camp, did not long ſurvive that prince. He attained to the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age; and, though in his latter days he was accuſed of treachery, he had covered the former part of his life with renown. He performed many memorable actions, under the emperor Akbar. He reduced the kingdom of Guzerat; he defeated with twenty thouſand horſe, an army of ſeventy thouſand, under the confederate princes of the Decan. He was a ſcholar, as well as a ſoldier. He was the moſt learned man of his time: ſhrewd in politics, eloquent to a proverb. He tranſlated the commentaries of the emperor Baber into the Perſic, from the Mogul language. He underſtood the Arabic, the Pehlvi, and all the dialects of India. He was alſo a good poet, and many of his pieces have come down to our time. In abilities he yielded not to his father, the famous Byram; though he poſſeſſed not his integrity and unſullied virtue.

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JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. VI.

Schemes of Mohâbet and Aſiph—Death of the emperor—His character—Anecdotes of his private life—His religion—His violence—Severe juſtice—and humanity—The ſon of prince Chuſero raiſed to the throne—Defeat of Shariâr—Shaw Jehân marches from the Decan—Young emperor depoſed, and murdered—Children of Jehangire—State of Perſia.

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MOHABET, after his conference with Aſiph, made the beſt of his way to the dominions of the Rana. He had been recommended by letters from the viſier, to that prince; and he was received with extraordinary marks of diſtinction. A circumſtance, omitted in its place, will contribute to throw light on the ſequel. A correſpondence, by writing, between Mohâbet and Aſiph would be a meaſure full of peril to both. They had reſolved to ſeize upon the accidents that might ariſe in the courſe of time, for the ſervice of Shaw Jehân. The viſier was to be the judge, as having the beſt acceſs to know the period fit for their purpoſe, from his reſidence at court and intimate knowledge of its affairs. Mohâbet left a ring in his hands, which, when it ſhould be ſent, was the ſignal for him to eſpouſe openly the intereſts of the prince.

Death of the emperor.

The edict of indemnity to Mohâbet had ſcarce been promulgated, when that lord underſtood from court, that the emperor began

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began to decline viſibly in his health. The proſpect of his approaching diſſolution rendered it unneceſſary to wreſt from him by force a ſcepter which he was ſoon to reſign to death. Mohâbet remained quiet with the Rana; who, holding a friendly correſpondence with Shaw Jehân, took an opportunity of informing that prince, that his noble gueſt was no enemy to his cauſe.—Jehangire had, for ſeven years, been troubled with a ſlight aſthma. His diſorder increaſed toward the end of the preceding year; and he reſolved to make a progreſs to Caſhmire, for the benefit of the air. The autumn proved very ſevere in that elevated country. He was ſeized with a violent cold, which fell upon his lungs. The ſharpneſs and purity of the air rendered his breathing difficult. He complained of a kind of ſuffocation; and became impatient under his diſorder. He commanded the camp to move, with ſlow marches, toward Lahore. He was carried in a litter as far as the town of Mutti, which ſtands about half way on the road from Caſhmire. At Mutti his difficulty of breathing increaſed. He was growing worſe every day, and the army halted. On the ninth of November of the year 1627 he expired; having lived fifty-eight and reigned twenty-two lunar years and eight months. Oct. 27th.

His character.

Jehangire was neither vicious nor virtuous in the extreme. His bad actions proceeded from paſſion; and his good frequently from whim. Violent in his meaſures without cruelty, merciful without feeling, proud without dignity, and generous without acquiring friends. A ſlave to his pleaſures, yet a lover of buſineſs; deſtitute of all religion, yet full of ſuperſtition and vain fears. Firm in nothing but in the invariable rigour of his juſtice, he was changeable in his opinions, and often the dupe of thoſe whom he deſpiſed. Sometimes calm, winning, and benevolent, he gained the affections of thoſe who knew him not; at other times,

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times, moroſe, captious, reſerved, he became terrible to thoſe in whom he moſt confided. In public, he was familiar, complaiſant, and eaſy to all; he made no diſtinction between high and low; he heard, with patience, the complaints of the meaneſt of his ſubjects; and greatneſs was never a ſecurity againſt his juſtice: in private, he was thoughtful, cold, and ſilent; and he often clothed his countenance with ſuch terror, that Aſiph Jâh frequently fled from his preſence, and the Sultana, in the plenitude of her influence over him, was known to approach him on trembling knees. His affection for his children bordered on weakneſs. He was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours. In war he had no abilities; he was fond of peace and tranquillity; and rather a lover than an encourager of the arts of civil life. Naturally averſe to tyranny and oppreſſion, property was ſecure under his adminiſtration: he had no avarice himſelf to render him unjuſt, and he was the determined and implacable enemy of extortion in others. He was a man of ſcience and of literary abilities; and the memoirs of his life, which he penned himſelf, do him more honour as a good writer, than the matter, as a great monarch. Upon the whole, Jehangire, though not a faultleſs man, was far from being a bad prince: he had an inclination to be virtuous, and his errors proceeded from a defect more than from a depravity of ſoul: His mother was thought to have introduced a tincture of madneſs into his blood; and an immoderate uſe of wine and opium rendered ſometimes frantic a mind naturally inflamed.

His private life and opinions.

Though Jehangire was often ſerious and diſtant among his domeſtics, he was fond of throwing off the character of the emperor, and of enjoying freely the converſation of his ſubjects. He often diſappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obſcure punch-houſes, to paſs ſome hours in drinking and talking with the lower ſort. He had no enemies, and he was under no

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apprehenſions concerning the ſafety of his perſon. Being in the hall of audience, acceſſible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the uſual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excurſions. But the people loved his familiar openneſs, and did not by rudeneſs abuſe the truſt repoſed in them by their prince. He often deſired his companions at the bowl to aſk no favours of him, leſt SELIM, in his cups, might promiſe what JEHANGIRE, in his ſober ſenſes, would not chuſe to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated. He flew from one extreme of paſſion to another; this moment joyful, the next melancholy and drowned in tears. When in this ſituation, he was fond of arguing upon abſtruſe ſubjects. Religion was his favourite topic. He ſometimes praiſed the Mahommedan faith, ſometimes that of the Chriſtians; he was now a follower of Zoroaſter, and now of Brahma. In the midſt of theſe devout profeſſions, he would, ſometimes, as ſtarting from a dream, exclaim, That the prophets of all nations were impoſtors; and that he himſelf, ſhould his indolence permit him, could form a better ſyſtem of religion than any they had impoſed on the world. When he was ſober, he was diveſted of every idea of religion, having been brought up a Deiſt under the tuition of his father Akbar.

Scheme of eſtabliſhing a new faith.

The variety of opinions, on the ſubject of religion, which prevailed in India, occaſioned great uneaſineſs both to Jehangire and his father Akbar. The tenets of Mahommedaniſm, which the family of Timur had brought along with them into their conqueſts, were the religion eſtabliſhed by law; but the majority of their ſubjects were of different perſuaſions. The followers of the Brahmin faith were the moſt numerous, and the next were the Perſian Guebres, who worſhipped the element of Fire, as the beſt repreſentative of God. The Chriſtians of Europe and of Ar-

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menia poſſeſſed ſeveral factories in the principal cities and ports, and they wandered in purſuit of commerce over all the empire. The different opinions among all theſe ſects, on a ſubject which mankind reckon of the laſt importance, were the ſource of diſputes, animoſities, and quarrels. Akbar was chagrined. He tolerated every religion; he admitted men of all perſuaſions into his confidence and ſervice; and he had formed ſerious thoughts of promulgating a new faith, which might reconcile the minds of all his ſubjects. He eſteemed himſelf as equal in abilities to Mahommed, and he had more power to enforce his doctrine. But, foreſeeing the diſtractions which this arduous meaſure might occaſion, he dropt his deſign; and, inſtead of eſtabliſhing a new faith, contented himſelf with giving no credit to any of the old ſyſtems of religion. Jehangire in his youth had imbibed his father's principles. He began to write a new code of divine law; but he had neither the auſterity nor the abilities of a prophet. He ſhewed more wiſdom in relinquiſhing, than in forming ſuch a viſionary ſcheme.

His violence.

Jehangire was ſubject to violent paſſions upon many occaſions. Complaints againſt his nobles, and even againſt his favourite ſons, were received with an eagerneſs, and a rage againſt the offenders, more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. When his mind was heated with a relation of oppreſſion, he often burſt out into a loud exclamation, "Who in my empire has dared to do this wrong?" His violence flew before the accuſation; and to name any perſon to him, was to convince him of his guilt. Shaw Jehân had been known, when in the greateſt favour, to have come trembling before his father, at the accuſation of the meaneſt ſubject; and the whole miniſtry, and the ſervants of the court, frequently ſtood abaſhed, pale, diſtant, and in terror for themſelves, when a poor man in rags was relating his grievances to the emperor.

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An inſtance of his ſeverity

His exceſſive ſeverity in the execution of impartial juſtice, was the great line which marks the features of the character of Jehangire. He had no reſpect of perſons, when he animadverted upon crimes. His former favour was obliterated at once by guilt; and he perſevered, with undeviating rigour, to revenge upon the great, the injuries done to the low. The ſtory of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his ſavage juſtice. The ſiſter of the favourite Sultana had a ſon by her huſband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at court by the empreſs, who having no ſons by Jehangire, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The emperor was fond of the boy; he even often ſeated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jehangire gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having reſided in his government ſome years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the ſtreet, to tread by accident a child to death. The parents of the child followed Alla to his houſe. They loudly demanded an exemplary puniſhment on the driver; and the governor, conſidering it an accident, refuſed their requeſt, and ordered them to be driven away from his door. They abuſed him in very opprobrious terms; and Alla, proud of his rank and family, expelled them from the diſtrict of Burdwan.

Jehangire reſiding, at that time, in the city of Lahore, they found their way, after a long journey on foot, to the preſence. They called aloud for juſtice; and the emperor wrote a letter to Alla with his own hand, with peremptory orders to reſtore to the injured parents of the child their poſſeſſions, and to make them ample amends for their loſs and the fatigue of their journey. The pride of Alla was hurt, at the victory obtained over him; and inſtead of obeying the orders of his prince, he threw them into priſon, till

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till they made ſubmiſſions to him for their conduct. But as ſoon as they were releaſed, they travelled again to Lahore. Alla was alarmed, and wrote letters to the Sultana and Aſiph Jâh, to prevent the petitioners from being admitted into the preſence. They hovered to no effect, for ſome months, about the palace. They could not even come within hearing of the emperor, till one day, that he was taking his pleaſure in a barge upon the river. They preſſed forward through the crowd; and thrice called out aloud for juſtice. The emperor heard them, and he recollected their perſons. He ordered the barge to be rowed, that inſtant, to the bank; and, before he inquired into the nature of their complaint, he wrote an order for them to receive a penſion for life, from the Imperial treaſury. When they had explained their grievances, he ſaid not a word, but he commanded Alla to appear immediately at court.

in the execution of juſtice.

Alla obeyed the Imperial command; but he knew not the intentions of Jehangire, which that prince had locked up in his own breaſt. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the oppoſite bank of the river; and ſent a meſſenger to announce his coming to the emperor. Jehangire gave orders for one of his elephants of ſtate to be ready, by the dawn of day; and he at the ſame time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himſelf was up before it was light, and having croſſed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant; and the emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the reſentment of the Sultana, paſſed over him ſeveral times, without giving the elephant the neceſſary directions. The emperor, however, by his threats obliged him at laſt to execute his orders. He retired home in ſilence; and iſſued out his com-

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mands to bury Alla with great pomp and magnificence, and that the court ſhould go into mourning for him for the ſpace of two moons.—"I loved him;" ſaid Jehangire, "but juſtice, like neceſſity, ſhould bind monarchs."

Of his humanity.

The ſevere juſtice of Jehangire eſtabliſhed tranquillity through all his dominions, when they were not diſturbed by the ambition of his ſons. The Subas of provinces avoided oppreſſion, as the poor had a determined avenger of their wrongs, in their ſovereign. He upon every occaſion affected the converſation of the lower ſort. They had immediate acceſs to his perſon; and he only ſeemed pleaſed, when he was humbling the pride of his nobles, upon the juſt complaints of the vulgar. He boaſted of his humanity, as well as of his juſtice. He had uſed to ſay, That a monarch ſhould even feel for the beaſts of the field; and that the birds of heaven ought to receive their due at the foot of the throne.

Dawir Buxſh raiſed to the throne.

As ſoon as Jehangire expired, Aſiph, at the head of the Imperial retinue, proceeded with the body to Lahore. When he arrived on the banks of the Gelum, he diſpatched a Hindoo named Narſi, with the ring to Mohâbet, as the ſignal for that lord to eſpouſe the cauſe of Shaw Jehân. The will of Jehangire had been opened immediately upon his demiſe. He had, at the inſtigation of the Sultana, named his fourth ſon Shariâr, as his ſucceſſor in the throne; but that prince had, ſome weeks before, ſet out for Lahore. When the news of the death of Jehangire arrived at that city, the prince ſeized upon the Imperial treaſure, and encouraged the troops to join him, by ample donations. The viſier was alarmed. To gain time for the execution of his deſigns in favour of Shaw Jehân, he proclaimed Dawir Buxſh, the ſon of prince Chuſero, emperor of the Moguls. His

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ſiſter diſapproved of this meaſure; and endeavoured to raiſe a party in the camp in favour of Shariâr: but he put an end to her ſchemes, by confining her to her tent; and gave ſtrict orders, that none ſhould be admitted into her preſence.

Shariâr defeated, taken and blinded.

Shariâr, by means of the Imperial treaſure, collected together a conſiderable force. Being ill of a venereal diſorder himſelf, he appointed Baieſâr, the ſon of his uncle, the prince Daniâl, to command his army. The troops of Aſiph were inferior in number to thoſe of Shariâr; but they were, in ſome meaſure, diſciplined, and inured to the field. Shariâr had croſſed the Gelum before the arrival of Aſiph; who drew up his forces upon the firſt appearance of the enemy. It was rather a flight than a battle. The raw troops of Shariâr gave way, before they came to blows. He was not himſelf in the action: he ſtood on a diſtant hill, and fell in into the current of retreat. He ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Lahore; which was inveſted the next day by the army of Aſiph. The friends of Shariâr deſerted him; and made terms for themſelves. The unfortunate prince hid himſelf in a cellar within the haram. He was found, and dragged to the light by Feroſe Chan; and Alliverdi bound his hands with his girdle, and brought him to Dawir Buxſh. He was ordered to be confined; and the ſecond day he was deprived of ſight.

March of Shaw Jehân.

Narſi, the meſſenger of Aſiph, arrived with the ring, after a journey of three weeks, at Chibîr on the borders of Golconda, where Mohâbet, at the time, reſided, with Shaw Jehân. He informed the prince of the death of Jehangire; and acquainted Mohâbet of the plan, formed by the viſier, to ſecure the throne for the former; and that Dawir Buxſh was only raiſed, as a temporary bulwark againſt the deſigns of the Sultana, and to appeaſe the people, who were averſe to Shariâr. Shaw Jehân, by the

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advice of Mohâbet, began his march through Guzerat. Two officers were ſent with letters to the vizier; and Nîſhar Chan was diſpatched with preſents to Lodi, who commanded the army in the Decan.

Suſpicious conduct of Lodi.

Lodi was always averſe to the intereſts of Shaw Jehân. He was proud and paſſionate; of high birth, and reputation in war. Deriving his blood from the Imperial family of Lodi, he even had views on the empire. Many of his nation ſerved under him in the army; and confiding in their attachment, he looked with ſecret pleaſure upon the conteſts for the throne, which were likely to ariſe in the family of Timur. He had detached a part of his army to ſeize Malava, and all the Imperial territories bordering upon that province. The meſſenger of Shaw Jehân was received with coldneſs. The anſwer given him was undeciſive and evaſive; and he was diſmiſſed without any marks either of reſentment or favour. Lodi did not ſee clearly before him; and he was reſolved to take advantage of events as they ſhould happen to riſe.

Dawir Buxſh depoſed and murdered.

Shaw Jehân having, as already mentioned, taken the rout of Guzerat, received the ſubmiſſion of that province. Seif Chan, who commanded for the empire, being ſick, was taken in his bed; but his life was ſpared at the interceſſion of his wife, who was the particular favourite of the ſiſter of the prince. Having remained ſeven days at Ahmedabâd, news arrived of the victory of the viſier over Shariâr. Chidmud-Periſt was diſpatched to the conqueror with letters. They contained expreſſions of the deepeſt gratitude to the miniſter; but he, at the ſame time, intimated, that diſſention could not ceaſe but with the life of the ſons of Chuſero and Daniâl.—The temporary emperor, Dawir Buxſh, had been dethroned and impriſoned three days before the arrival of Shaw

Jehân's meſſenger at Lahore. His brother Gurſhaſp, and Baieſâr and Hoſhung, the ſons of Danial, had been alſo confined. To ſhow his attachment to Shaw Jehân, the viſier delivered the keys of the priſon to Periſt; and that chief, to gain his maſter's favour, ſtrangled the three princes that very night. Aſiph made no enquiry concerning their deaths. He marched the next day toward Agra, having proclaimed Shaw Jehân emperor of the Moguls.

Shaw Jehân arrives at Agra.

Shaw Jehân arriving at Ajmere, was joined, in that city, by the Rana and his ſon. They were dignified with titles; and ſeveral Omrahs were raiſed to higher ranks of nobility. The government of Ajmere, with many rich eſtates, were conferred upon Mohâbet; and the emperor, for Shaw Jehân had aſſumed that title, marched toward Agra, and pitched his camp in ſight of that capital, on the 31ſt of January 1628, in the garden which from its beauty was called the Habitation of Light. Caſſim, the governor of Agra, came with the keys, and touched the ground with his forehead before the emperor; who entered the city the next day, amid the acclamations of the populace. They forgot his crimes in his ſplendour; and recognized the right to the throne, which murder had procured.

Jehangire's children.

Seven children were born to the emperor Jehangire: five ſons and two daughters. The firſt were Chuſero, Purvez, Churrum, Jehandâr, and Shariâr; the daughters were Sultana Niſſa, and Sultana Bâr Banu. Chuſero, Purvez and Jehandâr died before their father: Shariâr fell a victim to his brother's jealouſy; and Churrum, under the name of Shaw Jehân, ſucceeded to the empire. The prince Chuſero left two ſons, Dawir Buxſh and Gurſhaſp: the firſt had obtained the name of emperor; they were both murdered, as has been already mentioned, at Lahore. The children

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dren of Purvez were a ſon and a daughter: the firſt, by dying a natural death ſoon after his father, prevented the dagger of Shaw Jehân from committing another murder; and the latter became afterwards the wife of Dara, the eldeſt ſon of Shaw Jehân.—The two ſons of Daniâl, Baicſâr and Hoſhung, had been confined during the reign of their uncle Jehangire. Strangers to the world, and deſtitute of experience, their nerves were relaxed by inactivity, and their minds broken by adverſity. This ſtate of debility did not ſecure them from the jealouſy of the new emperor, by whoſe commands they were ſtrangled at Lahore. The emperor, either by the dagger or bowſtring, diſpatched all the males of the houſe of Timur; ſo that he himſelf and his children only remained of the poſterity of Baber, who conquered India.

State of Perſia and Uſbekian Tartary.

The ſtate of Perſia ſuffered no change during the reign of the emperor Jehangire in Hindoſtan. Shaw Abas, ſirnamed the Great, who was in his twentieth year on the throne of the family of Seifi at the death of Akbar, outlived Jehangire. He covered with ſplendid exploits, and a rigorous adherence to juſtice, the natural ſeverity and even cruelty of his character; and acquired the reputation of a great, though not of an amiable prince. The Uſbec Tartars of Great Bucharia, who had made encroachments on the Perſian dominions during the interrupted reigns of the immediate predeceſſors of Abas, loſt much of their conſequence in the time of that victorious prince. Domeſtic troubles and diſputes about the ſucceſſion converted the weſtern Tartary into a ſcene of blood; and offered an object of ambition to Abas. He invaded Choraſſan; he beſieged the capital Balick, but he was obliged to retreat, by the activity and valour of Baki, who had poſſeſſed himſelf, after various viciſſitudes of fortune, of the throne of the Uſbecs. Baki, dying in the third year of his reign,

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was ſucceeded by his brother Walli; who being expelled by his uncle, took refuge, with many of the nobles, in the court of Shaw Abas. The Perſian aſſiſted him with an army. He was ſucceſsful in many engagements, defeated his uncle's forces, and took the city of Bochara; but his fortune changed near Samarcand, and he fell in a battle, which he loſt. The views of Abas, on the weſtern dominions of the Uſbecs, which had formerly belonged to Perſia, fell with his ally Walli. Emam Kulli and his brother divided between them the empire; and, notwithſtanding the efforts of Abas, retained the dominion of the extenſive province of Choraſſan.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. I.

Reflections—Acceſſion of Shaw Jehân—Promotions—The emperor's children—State of the empire with regard to foreign powers—Incurſion of the Uſbecs—War in Bundelcund—Diſgrace—Tragical ſtory—and flight of Chan Jehân Lodi—Death and character of Shaw Abas of Perſia—Emperor's march to the Decan—War in Golconda and Tellingana—Irruption of the Afgans—The viſier Aſiph takes the field.

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Reflections.

THE ideas upon government which the Tartars of the northern Aſia carried into their conqueſts in Hindoſtan, were often fatal to the poſterity of Timur. Monarchy deſcends through the channel of primogeniture; but deſpotiſm muſt never fall into the hands of a minor. The prince is the center of union between all the members of the ſtate; and, when he happens to be a child, the ties which bind the allegiance of the ſubject are diſſolved. Habituated to battle, and inured to depredation, the Tartars always adopted for their leader, that perſon of the family of their princes who was moſt proper for their own mode of life; and loſt ſight of hereditary ſucceſſion in the convenience of the nation. When they ſettled in better regions than their native country, they did not lay aſide a cuſtom ſuited only to incurſion and war. The ſucceſſion to the throne was never determined by eſtabliſhed rules; and a door was opened to intrigue, to murder, and to civil war. Every prince, as if in an enemy's country, mounted the throne through conqueſt; and the

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ſafety of the ſtate, as well as his own, forced him, in a manner, to become an aſſaſſin, and to ſtain the day of his acceſſion with the blood of his relations. When therefore the Deſpot died, ambition was not the only ſource of broils among his ſons. They contended for life as well as for the throne; under a certainty that the firſt muſt be loſt, without a poſſeſſion of the ſecond. Self-preſervation, that firſt principle of the human mind, converted frequently the humane prince into a cruel tyrant, and thus neceſſity prompted men to actions, which their ſouls perhaps abhorred.

Acceſſion of Shaw Jehân.

Shaw Jehân had this apology for the murder of his relations; and the manners of the people were ſo much adapted to an idea of neceſſity in ſuch a caſe, that they acquieſced without murmuring under his government. He mounted the throne of the Moguls in Agra, on the firſt of February of the year 1628 of the Chriſtian Æra; and, according to the pompous manner of eaſtern princes, aſſumed the titles of THE TRUE STAR OF THE FAITH, THE SECOND LORD OF THE HAPPY CONJUNCTIONS, MAHOMMED, THE KING OF THE WORLD. He was born at Lahore on the fifth of January 1592, and, on the day of his acceſſion, he was thirty-ſix ſolar years and twenty-eight days old. To drive away the memory of the late aſſaſſinations from the minds of the people, and to gratify the nobles, who had crowded from every quarter to Agra, he uſhered in his reign with a feſtival, which exceeded every thing of the kind known in that age, in magnificence and expence. The pompous ſhews of the favourite Sultana, in the late reign, vaniſhed in the ſuperior grandeur of thoſe exhibited by Shaw Jehân.

Promotions.

In the midſt of feſtivity and joy, Shaw Jehân did neither forget the ſtate nor the gratitude which he owed to his friends. Aſiph Jâh, though not yet arrived from Lahore, was confirmed in the office of viſier. His appointments to ſupport the dignity

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of his ſtation, and as a reward for the part he acted, in ſecuring the poſſeſſion of the throne to the emperor, amounted to near a million ſterling. Mohâbet who, in Shaw Jehân's progreſs from the Decan to Agra, had been preſented with the government of Ajmere, was raiſed to the high office of captain-general of all the forces, and to the title and dignity of Chan Chanan, or firſt of the nobles. His ſon Chanazâd, who had been raiſed to the title of Chan Zimân, was placed in the government of Malava. Behâr was conferred on Chan Alum, Bengal on Caſim, Allahabâd on Janſapar Chan. The emperor, in beſtowing the province of Cabul on Liſcâr, exhibited an inſtance of juſtice. He had, during his rebellion, taken eight lacks of roupees by force from that Omrah, and when he appointed him to Cabul, he at the ſame time gave him a draught on the treaſury for the money; ſignifying to Liſcâr, "That neceſſity being removed, there was no excuſe for the continuance of injuſtice." Fifty Mahommedan nobles, together with many Indian Rajas, were raiſed to honours, and gratified with preſents.

Aſiph arrives at Agra.

During theſe tranſactions at Agra, Aſiph purſued his journey in very ſlow marches from Lahore. His ſiſter, the favourite of the late emperor, being ruined in all her ſchemes of ambition, was left, in a kind of confinement at Lahore, in the Imperial palace. The four ſons of the reigning emperor, Dara, Suja, Aurungzêbe, and Morâd, had been ſent as hoſtages for their father's good behaviour to Jehangire. They were in the Imperial camp when that monarch expired; and Aſiph treated them with kindneſs and reſpect. He arrived at Agra on the twenty-ſecond of March, and preſented his ſons to the emperor, when he was celebrating the feſtival of the Noroſe, which is kept by the followers of Mahommed at the vernal equinox in every year. The emperor was ſo much rejoiced at the ſight of his children, who had been all

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born to him by his favourite wife the daughter of Aſiph, that he conferred upon their grandfather, the pompous title of THE FATHER OF PRINCES, THE STRENGTH OF THE REALM, AND PROTECTOR OF THE EMPIRE.

Children of the emperor.

The Imperial prince Dara Shêko was thirteen years old at the acceſſion of his father to the throne; Suja was in the twelfth, Aurungzêbe in the tenth, and Morâd in the fourth lunar year of his age. The eldeſt of the emperor's children, by the favourite Sultana, the daughter of Aſiph, was the princeſs Jehânara, which name ſignifies THE ORNAMENT OF THE WORLD. She was fourteen years of age when Shaw Jehân mounted the throne. Senſible, lively and generous, elegant in her perſon, and accompliſhed in her mind, ſhe obtained an abſolute empire over her father. A ſimilarity of diſpoſition with the open and ſincere Dara, attached her to the intereſt of that prince; and he owed, in a great meaſure, the favour of his father to her influence. Roſhenrai Begum, or THE PRINCESS OF THE ENLIGHTENED MIND, was the ſecond daughter of Shaw Jehân, and his fourth child by the favourite Sultana. Her wit was ſharp and penetrating, her judgment ſound, her manner engaging like her perſon; ſhe was full of addreſs, and calculated for ſtratagem and intrigue. She reſembled the pervading genius of Aurungzêbe, and ſhe favoured his deſigns. The emperor's third daughter was Suria Bânu, or THE SPLENDID PRINCESS; a name ſuited to her exquiſite beauty. She was eaſy and gentle in her temper, ſoft and pleaſing in her addreſs, humane, benevolent and ſilent: averſe to duplicity and art, full of dignity and honourable pride. She took no part in the intrigues which diſturbed the repoſe of the ſtate, devoting her time to the accompliſhments of her ſex, and a few innocent amuſements.

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State of the empire.

Shaw Jehân found himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the extenſive empire of his father, and he had abilities to govern it with dignity, juſtice and preciſion. Tranquillity was eſtabliſhed at home; and there were no enemies to diſturb him from abroad. Shaw Abas ſoon after died in Perſia; and the ſcepter fell into the weak and inactive hands of his grandſon Sefi; a prince, incapable of either governing his ſubjects with dignity, or of giving any diſturbance to his neighbours. The ſpirit of the Uſbecs had declined; and they were exhauſted by diſputed ſucceſſions and civil wars. The Indian nations, beyond the pale of the empire, were peaceable and unwarlike: incapable of committing injuries, and too diſtant from the ſeat of government to receive them. The Portugueze, though the moſt powerful European nation in India, were not formidable to the empire, though hated by the prince. Shaw Jehân, when in arms againſt his father, had ſolicited their aſſiſtance. They had not only refuſed him their aid, but, in a manly manner, reproached him for having demanded it againſt his parent and ſovereign. He was ſenſible of the juſtice of the reproof, and therefore could not forgive it. The Sultana was their enemy. She had accompanied her huſband to one of their ſettlements; and ſhe was enraged beyond meaſure againſt them for the worſhip they paid to images.

Lodi ſubmits.

The diſreſpect ſhewn by Lodi who commanded in the Decan, to Niſhar Chan the emperor's meſſenger, produced a ſuperceding commiſſion to the latter againſt the former. Niſhar produced the Imperial mandate: but Lodi would not obey. Mohâbet was ordered with a force againſt the refractory general; and Niſhar, on account of his not having acted with a proper ſpirit, was recalled. Chan Zimân, from his government of Malava, marched with all his forces to the aid of his father Mohâ-

bet.

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Invaſion The confuſions occaſioned by the diſputed ſucceſſion, after the death of Jehangire, rouzed the ambition of Shaw Kuli, prince of the Uſbec Tartars. He looked upon a civil war as a certain event in India; and he reſolved to ſeize on the opportunity preſented by Fortune. He ordered ten thouſand of his beſt horſe under Nidder Mahommed, accompanied with a good train of artillery, to penetrate into the province of Cabul. That general entered the Imperial dominions, and laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Zohâc. But the place was ſo ſtrong, and ſo well defended by Zingis, who commanded the garriſon, that Mahommed, after ſuffering a conſiderable loſs, raiſed the ſiege. The Uſbecs, however, did not retreat to their own country. Mahommed, after being repulſed at Zohâc, attempted to ſurprize Cabul, and, having failed in the enterprize, he ſat down before that city.

of the Uſbecs. Having ſummoned the garriſon of Cabul to no purpoſe, the Uſbecs began to make their approaches. They ſoon advanced their batteries to the counterſcarp of the ditch, and, by a conſtant fire, made ſeveral breaches in the wall. Ziffer, the late Suba, had left the place; and Liſcâr, the new governor, was not yet arrived. The command of the garriſon was in Jacob Chan; who defended himſelf ſo well, that the enemy was beat back with great loſs in

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a general aſſault. Mahommed, though repulſed, was not diſcouraged. He raiſed, with great labour, mounds to command the walls; and drove the beſieged from the rampart. The breach, however, had been repaired, and the Uſbecs durſt not attempt to ſcale the walls.

Repulſed.

The news of the invaſion had, in the mean time, arrived at the court of Agra; and the emperor, finding that Mohâbet had ſettled the affairs of the Decan, ordered that general to the relief of Cabul. Having left his ſon in his command in the ſouth, Mohâbet haſtened with all expedition to the north. Twelve thouſand horſe attended him; and he was to take up the forces of Punjâb on his way. The ſiege had now continued three months; the Uſbecs had again made a practicable breach, and the ditch was almoſt filled, when the news of the march of Mohâbet arrived in the camp of Mahommed. He redoubled his diligence; and the garriſon, who knew nothing of ſuccour, began to deſpair. When, therefore, the Uſbecs began to prepare for a ſecond general aſſault, the beſieged ſallied out with all their forces. The battle was obſtinate and bloody; but Mahommed was at length obliged to give way; and the garriſon hung on his heels beyond the frontiers of the province. Mohâbet, upon the news of this defeat, returned to Agra; and civil conteſts took up the attention of the Uſbecs at home.

War with the

The invaſion of the Uſbecs was ſucceeded by an inſurrection in the ſmall province of Bundelcund. The Indian prince of that country, whoſe name was Hidjâr Singh, having come to pay his reſpects at the court of Agra, found that an addition was made, in the books of the Imperial treaſury, to the tribute which he and his anceſtors had formerly paid to the houſe of Timur. Inſtead of petitioning for an abatement of the impoſt, he fled with-

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out taking leave of the emperor. When he arrived in his dominions, he armed his dependants to the number of fifteen thouſand men. He garriſoned his fortreſſes, and occupied the paſſes which led to his country. The emperor was enraged at the preſumption of this petty chieftain. He ordered Mohâbet to enter his country with twelve thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, by the way of Gualiâr. Lodi, lately received into favour, with twelve thouſand more, was commanded to invade Bundelcund from the ſouth; and Abdalla, with ſeven thouſand horſe, from the eaſt, by the way of Allahabâd. Theſe three armies, under three experienced and able officers, were more than neceſſary for the ſervice; but the emperor was deſirous to ſhew an inſtance of vigour at the commencement of his reign, to raiſe the terror of his diſpleaſure, and to eſtabliſh tranquillity and good order by the means of fear.

Raja of Bundelcund.

The emperor himſelf marched from Agra on the twentieth of December, on a tour of pleaſure to the foreſt of Niderbari, where he hunted tigers for ſix days, and then took the route of Gualiâr, that he might be near the ſeat of war. He opened the gates of that fortreſs to all ſtate priſoners, ſome of whom had remained in confinement during the whole of the former reign. This clemency procured him popularity, and took away part of the odium which his bloody policy had already fixed on his character. The refractory Raja was, in the mean time, preſſed hard on every ſide. He reſiſted with ſpirit; but he was driven from poſt to poſt. He, as the laſt reſort, ſhut himſelf up in his fort of Erige. Abdalla ſat down before it; and having made a practicable breach, ſtormed the place, and put the garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, to the ſword. The Raja made his eſcape. He was ruined, but his ſpirit was not broken. With the remaining part of his army he fell into the rout of Mohâbet;

and his forces being cut off, he himſelf came into the hands of the captain-general.

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He is taken priſoner.

Mohâbet carried his priſoner to the emperor, who had returned to Agra. Shaw Jehân was rigid to an extreme; and his humanity gave always place to policy. He ordered the unfortunate prince into confinement, intimating that a warrant ſhould ſoon be iſſued for his execution. Mohâbet, who admired the intrepid conſtancy of the Raja, ſhewed an inclination to intercede for his life; but the ſtern looks of the emperor impoſed ſilence upon him. He, however, the next day carried his priſoner into the preſence: the rigid darkneſs of Shaw Jehân's countenance continued; and the captain-general ſtood at a diſtance, in cloſe converſation with the Raja. The emperor ſaw them; but he was ſilent. The prince, and even Mohâbet, deſpaired of ſucceſs. They came the third day into the preſence, and ſtood, as uſual, at a diſtance. The Raja was in fetters, and Mohâbet chained his own hand to that of the priſoner. "Approach, Mohâbet," ſaid Shaw Jehân. "The captain-general will have it ſo; and I pardon Hidjâr Singh. But life without dignity is no preſent from the emperor of the Moguls, to a fallen prince; I, therefore, to his government reſtore Hidjâr Singh, upon paying ſixteen lacks of roupees, and furniſhing the Imperial army with forty elephants of war."

Mohâbet removed from the head of the army.

Notwithſtanding the deference which was ſhewn to Mohâbet for his great abilities, the emperor was jealous of his influence and popularity. He therefore requeſted of him to reſign the command of the army on the frontiers of the unconquered provinces of the Decan, together with the government of Candeiſh; both which offices the captain-general diſcharged, by Chan Zemân his ſon. Eradit, the receiver-general of the Imperial revenues,

was

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was appointed to that important ſtation. He ſet out from court, and Chan Zemân, having reſigned the army and government to him, returned to Agra. This change in the government of the frontier provinces was productive of diſturbances. The Nizam of Golconda, who had been kept quiet by the reputation of Mohâbet and his ſon, invaded, upon the departure of the latter, the Imperial province of Candeiſh. Diria, who, in ſubordination to the new Suba, commanded the army, attacked the Nizam in a diſadvantageous ſituation, and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions, with the loſs of a great part of his army.

Irruption of the Uſbecs.

The unſucceſsful attempts of the Uſbecs upon Cabul, in the beginning of the preceding year, together with domeſtic diſtractions conſequent upon their diſgrace, had hitherto ſecured the peace of the northern frontier of the empire. They were, however, anxious to recover their loſt reputation. An army of volunteers were collected, and the command veſted in Zingis. That officer ſuddenly entered the Imperial dominions; and ſat down before the fort of Bamia, in the mountains of Cabul. The place was feebly garriſoned, and the Uſbecs preſſed the ſiege with vigour. It fell into their hands; and Zingis having demoliſhed the walls, returned, with the plunder of the open country, to the dominions of the Uſbecs. This irruption could be ſcarce called a war; as the ſudden retreat of the enemy reſtored the public tranquillity.

Story of Chan Jehân Lodi.

The moſt remarkable event of the ſecond year of Shaw Jehân is the flight of Chan Jehân Lodi from Agra. This nobleman, at the death of Jehangire, commanded, as already mentioned, the Imperial army ſtationed in the Decan. The favourite Sultana had found means, by letters, to gain over Lodi to the intereſt of the prince Shariâr, whom ſhe had reſolved to place on the

throne

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throne of India. Shaw Jehân, in his march to Agra, applied to him for a paſſage through his government, which he abſolutely refuſed. He added contempt to his refuſal; by ſending a thouſand roupees, a horſe, and a dreſs to the prince, as to a perſon of inferior dignity to himſelf. The meſſenger of Lodi, however, had not the courage to deliver the humiliating preſent. He gave the roupees, the dreſs, and the horſe to a ſhepherd, when he got beyond the walls of Brampour, where Lodi reſided. He, at the ſame time, deſired the ſhepherd to return the whole to Lodi; and to tell him, That if the preſents were not unworthy of him to give, they were too inſignificant for his ſervant to carry to a great prince. Having given theſe directions to the ſhepherd, the meſſenger proceeded to Shaw Jehân. The prince approved of his behaviour, thanked him for having ſuch a regard for his honour; and after he was ſettled on the throne, raiſed the meſſenger, as a reward for his ſervices, to the rank of a noble.

Cauſe of the emperor's reſentment

Shaw Jehân, being in no condition to force his way through the government of Lodi, took a long circuit round the hills, through wild and unfrequented paths. Lodi became ſoon ſenſible of his error. The defeat and death of Shariâr, the impriſonment of the Sultana, the murder of Dawir Buxſh, and the acceſſion of Shaw Jehân to the throne, came ſucceſſively to his ears. He thought of ſubmiſſion; but an army was on its march to reduce him to obedience. Zimân, the ſon of Mohâbet, was at the head of this force; but Lodi being in poſſeſſion of an army, and an extenſive and rich province, the emperor gave to his general a commiſſion to treat with that refractory Lord. He ſoon cloſed with the terms. He was appointed to the government of Malava, upon his reſigning the Imperial diviſion of the Decan. The emperor, however, was not ſincere in the pardon which

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he promiſed. His pride revolted at the indignities offered him by Lodi; and, at a proper occaſion, he reſolved to puniſh him.

againſt that Omrah.

Lodi was not long in poſſeſſion of the government of Malava, when he received orders to repair to court. As his reſignation of the command of the army might be conſtrued into obedience, rather than attributed to fear, he was under no apprehenſions in making his appearance in the preſence. An edict of indemnity had been promulgated to all the Omrahs who had oppoſed the acceſſion of Shaw Jehân to the throne; and Lodi thought that there was no probability of his being excluded from the indulgence granted to others. He was, however, convinced of his error, on the firſt day of his appearance at court. The uſher, Periſt, obliged him to exhibit ſome ceremonies of obedience, inconſiſtent with the rank which he held among the nobility. He was ſomewhat refractory, but he thought it prudent to ſubmit. His ſon, Azmut Chan, was introduced after his father. The youth was then but ſixteen years of age. He thought that the uſher kept him too long proſtrate upon the ground; and he ſtarted up before the ſignal for riſing was given. The uſher, in a rage, ſtruck Azmut over the head with his rod, and inſiſted upon his throwing himſelf again on the ground. Azmut, full of fire and valour, drew his ſword. He aimed a blow at the uſher's head; but one of the mace-bearers warded it off, and ſaved his life.

He is diſgraced in the preſence.

A ſudden murmur ſpread around. All fell into confuſion; and many placed their hands on their ſwords. Lodi, conſidering the blow given to his ſon, as the ſignal of death, drew his dagger to defend himſelf. Huſſein, his other ſon, followed his father's example. The tumult encreaſed, and the emperor leapt from his throne. Lodi and his ſons ruſhed out of the preſence. Their

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Their houſe was contiguous to the palace; and they ſhut themſelves up, with three hundred dependants. The houſe being incloſed with a ſtrong wall, no impreſſion could be made upon it without artillery; and as a ſiege ſo near the gates of the palace would derogate from the majeſty of the emperor, Shaw Jehân endeavoured to entice Lodi to a ſurrender, by a promiſe of pardon. His friends at court, however, acquainted him, that that there was a reſolution formed againſt his life; and he reſolved to make his eſcape, or to die in the attempt.

His diſtreſs

Night, in the mean time, came on; and he was tormented with various paſſions. His women were all around him. To leave them to diſhonour was intolerable, to remain was death, to remove them by violence, cruelty. He was afflicted beyond meaſure; and he burſt into tears. His wives ſaw his grief, and they retired. They conſulted together in an inner apartment. Their reſolution was noble, but deſperate; they raiſed their hands againſt their own lives. The groans reached the ears of Lodi. He ruſhed in; but there was only one taper burning, which, in his haſte, he overturned and extinguiſhed. He ſpoke, but none anſwered. He ſearched around, but he plunged his hand in blood. He ſtood in ſilence a while; and one of his ſons having brought a light, diſcovered to his eyes a ſcene of inexpreſſible horror. He ſaid not a word; but the wildneſs of his eyes was expreſſive of the tempeſt which rolled in his mind. He made a ſignal to his two ſons, and they buried the unfortunate women in the garden. He hung for ſome time in ſilence over their common grave. Then ſtarting at once from a profound reverie, he iſſued forth in a ſtate of horror and deſpair. He ordered his drums to be beaten, his trumpets to be ſounded. His people gathered around him. They mounted their horſes in the court-yard, and he himſelf at once threw open the gate. He iſſued out with his two

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ſons; and his followers fell in order into his path. The Imperial troops were aſtoniſhed, and made little reſiſtance. He was heard to exclaim, "I will awaken the tyrant with the ſound of my departure, but he ſhall tremble at my return." He ruſhed through the city like a whirlwind, and took the rout of Malava.

and flight.

The emperor, diſturbed by the ſudden noiſe, ſtarted from his bed. He enquired into the cauſe; and ordered Abul Huſſein, with nine other nobles, to purſue the fugitive. They collected their troops; and left the city by the dawn of day. Lodi, without halting, rode forward near forty miles. He was ſtopt by the river Chunbil, which was ſo high, ſo rough and rapid, on account of the rains, that he could not ſwim acroſs it, and all the boats had been carried down by the ſtream. This was an unexpected and terrible check; but as the weather was now fair, he hoped that the torrent would ſoon fall; and in that expectation, he and his followers ſtood on the bank. In the midſt of his anxiety, the Imperial troops appeared. He called his people together, and told them, he was reſolved to die in arms. There was a paſs behind him, which opened between two hills into a narrow plain. He took immediate poſſeſſion of the paſs; the river, which had cut off all hopes of flight, ſerved to cover his rear.

His gallant behaviour,

The Imperialiſts, truſting to their numbers, advanced with confidence; but they were ſo warmly received, that they drew back, with manifeſt ſigns of fear. Shame forced them to renew the charge. A ſelect body preſſed forward into the paſs. The ſhock was violent; and the ſlaughter, on both ſides, was as great and expeditious, as the ſmall place in which they engaged would permit. Huſſein had a reſource in numbers; Lodi had nothing in which he could confide but his valour. Scarce one hundred of his men now remained unhurt; he himſelf was wounded in the right arm, and the enemy were preparing a third time to advance. His affairs were deſperate. His two ſons, Azmut and Huſſein, conjured him to attempt the river, and that they would ſecure his retreat. "The danger is equal," replied Lodi, "but it is more honourable to die in the field." They inſiſted upon his retreating, as his wound had rendered him unfit for action. "But can I leave you both," ſaid Lodi, "when I have moſt need of my ſons? One muſt attend me in "my misfortune, which is perhaps a greater evil than death "itſelf." A diſpute immediately aroſe between the brothers, each contending for the honour of covering their father's retreat. At that inſtant, the Uſher Periſt, who had ſtruck Azmut in the preſence, appeared in the front of the Imperialiſts. "Huſſein, "the thing is determined;" ſaid Azmut, "doſt thou behold that "villain, and bid me fly?" He ſpurred onward his horſe: his father and brother plunged into the river.

and eſcape

Periſt was a Calmuc Tartar, of great ſtrength of body and intrepidity of mind. He ſaw Azmut advancing, and he ſtarted from the ranks, and rode forward to meet him half-way. Azmut had his bow ready bent in his hand: he aimed an arrow at Periſt, and laid him dead at the feet of his horſe. But the valiant youth did not long ſurvive his enemy. He was cut to pieces by the Imperialiſts; and the few faithful friends who had remained by his ſide, were either ſlain on the ſpot, or driven into the river and drowned. The conquerors had no reaſon to boaſt of their victory; four hundred men, and three officers of high rank were ſlain in the action, ſix nobles and a great number of inferior chiefs were wounded. The latter action was ſo ſhort, that it was over before Lodi and Huſſein had extricated themſelves from the ſtream. When they aſcended the oppoſite bank of the river, they looked back with anxiety for Azmut; but Azmut was no more to be ſeen:

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even his followers were, by that time, ſlain; and the victors, with ſhouts of triumph, poſſeſſed the further ſhore.

His diſtreſs and bravery.

Lodi had no time to deliberate, none to indulge his grief for Azmut. The enemy had already plunged into the ſtream; and he made the beſt of his way from the bank. He entered his own province of Malava, but the Imperialiſts were cloſe at his heels. Before he could collect his friends, he was overpowered by numbers, and defeated in ſeveral actions. He was at length driven beyond the boundaries of Malava. He continued his flight to Bundela, with a few adherents who had joined him; and he maintained, with great bravery, every paſs againſt the troops that purſued him in his retreat. The Imperialiſts, however, being at length haraſſed by long marches, bad roads, and continual ſkirmiſhing, gave over the purſuit. Lodi remained a few days at Bundela, then he traverſed the provinces of Berâr and Odipour, in his rout to Golconda, and preſented himſelf before the Nizâm at Dowlatabad. That prince received the unfortunate fugitive with open arms, a warm friendſhip having, for ſome years, ſubſiſted between them.

Uneaſineſs of the emperor.

The emperor expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the eſcape of Lodi. He knew his abilities, he was acquainted with his undeviating perſeverance. High-ſpirited and active, Lodi loved danger, as furniſhing an opportunity for an exertion of his great talents; and he was always diſcontented and uneaſy at that tranquillity for which mankind in general offer up their prayers to Heaven. The more noble and generous paſſions of his mind were now up in arms. His pride had been rouzed by the indignities thrown upon him, and he aſcribed the death of his wives and of his gallant ſon to the perfidy of Shaw Jehân. His haughty temper revolted againſt ſubmiſſion, and his prudence forbad him to liſten

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any more to pardons that were not ſincere. The emperor knew the man with whom he had to contend; and he was alarmed at the news of his arrival in the Decan. He foreſaw a ſtorm in that quarter, ſhould time be given to Lodi to reconcile the jarring intereſts of princes, who were the avowed enemies of the houſe of Timur. Shaw Jehân was naturally provident. He judged of futurity by the paſt; and he was rapid in deciſion. He thought the object not unworthy of his preſence, on the ſouthern frontier of his empire; and he ordered his army to be drawn together, that he might command them in the expected war in perſon.

Death and character of Shaw Abas.

During theſe tranſactions, an ambaſſador arrived from Shaw Abas of Perſia, to felicitate Shaw Jehân on his acceſſion to the throne. He had ſcarce made his public entrance, when the news of his maſter's death arrived. Abas died in the month of January of the year 1629, after a reign of fifty years over Choraſſan, and more than forty-two as ſovereign of all Perſia. He was a prince of a warlike diſpoſition, a good ſtateſman, a deep politician, a great conqueror. But he was cruel and prodigal of blood. He never forgave an enemy; nor thought he ever ſufficiently rewarded a friend. Severe in his juſtice beyond example, he rendered what is in itſelf a public good, a real evil. He knew no degrees in crimes: death, which is among mankind the greateſt puniſhment, was the leaſt inflicted by Abas. Though given to oppreſſion himſelf, he permitted none in others. He was the monarch, and he would be the only tyrant. He delighted in curbing the haughtineſs of the nobility: he took pride in relieving the poor. All his ſubjects had acceſs to his perſon. He heard their complaints, and his deciſions were immediate and terrible. His people, therefore, became juſt through fear; and he owed a reign of half a century to the terrors with which

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he ſurrounded his throne. He was paſſionate and violent to a degree that ſometimes perverted his judgment; and he who boaſted of holding the ſcales of juſt dealing between mankind, broke often forth into outrageous acts of injuſtice. During his life, he was reſpected by all; but his death was lamented by none.

Preparations for war.

The great preparations made by Shaw Jehân for an expedition into the Decan, detained him at Agra till the fourth of February of the 1631 of the Chriſtian Æra. He placed himſelf at the head of one hundred thouſand horſe; which, together with infantry, artillery and attendants, increaſed the number of the army to three hundred thouſand men. He advanced toward the Decan; and the governors of the provinces through which he paſſed, fell in with their forces into his line of march. On the borders of Chandeiſh, he was met by Eradit Chan, the Suba of the province, who conducted him to his own reſidence, the city of Brampour. The emperor encamped his army in the environs of Brampour; and diſpatched meſſengers to the tributary princes of the Decan. The principal of theſe were, Adil ſovereign of Bejapour, Kuttub, who ſtyled himſelf king of Hydrabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam prince of Golconda. He threatened them with utter deſtruction ſhould they not come perſonally to make their ſubmiſſion, after having diſbanded the armies which they had raiſed to ſupport the rebellion of Lodi. He alſo recommended to them, either to deliver up or expel the man who had, by encouraging their ſchemes, projected their ruin. They ſent evaſive anſwers to theſe demands; and continued their preparations for war.

Emperor arrives in the Decan.

The ſudden arrival of the emperor with ſuch a great force, was, however, premature for the affairs of Lodi. He had not yet

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yet been able to unite the armies of his allies, nor to raiſe a ſufficient force of his own. The terror of the Imperial army had made each prince unwilling to quit his own dominions, leſt they ſhould become the theatre of invaſion and war. They ſaw the ſtorm gathering, but they knew not where it was to fall: and when they were afraid of all quarters, they took no effectual means for the defence of any. They were beſides divided in their councils. Ancient jealouſies and recent injuries were remembered, when the good of the whole was forgot. Diſtruſt prevailed, indeciſion and terror followed; and the unfortunate Lodi, in ſpite of his activity, his zeal and abilities, found but ſmall ground on which he could reſt his hopes.

He detaches

The emperor, in the mean time, was piqued at the inattention which princes, whom he conſidered as tributaries, had ſhewn to his embaſſy. He reſolved upon revenge. The Nizam, as being the firſt who had received Lodi under his protection, was the firſt object of his reſentment. He raiſed Eradit, the governor of Chandeiſh, to the title of Azim Chan, and ſubmitted an army of twenty-five thouſand men to his command. The force was not judged ſufficient for the reduction of the Nizam; but the emperor would not truſt Eradit with the abſolute command of a more numerous army. He fell upon the expedient of detaching two other armies, conſiſting each of fourteen thouſand horſe, under the ſeparate commands of Raja Gop Singh and Shaiſta Chan. Theſe two generals were to act in conjunction with Eradit, but they were not abſolutely under his orders. The three armies began their march from the capital of Chandeiſh, about the vernal equinox of the 1631 of the Chriſtian Æra, and took the rout of Dowlatabâd.

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armies from the Imperial camp.

The emperor, in the mean time, remained at Brampour. Forces from various quarters crowded daily into his camp. He detached ſeven thouſand horſe, under Raw Ruton, toward Tellingana; and as many more, under the conduct of Abul Huſſein, into the principality of Naſic, in the mountains of Ballagat. The Raja of Naſic had inſulted Shaw Jehân in his exile and misfortunes; nor did he ever forget an injury which affected his pride. The Hindoo prince ſuffered for his inſolence; his country being, without mercy, ſubjected to fire and ſword. The emperor told Huſſein at parting: "The Raja of Naſic liſtened not to me in my diſtreſs; and you muſt teach him how dangerous it is to inſult a man, that may one day be ſovereign of the world." The expreſſion alluded to his own name; but a jeſt was unfit for the tragedy which was acted in the deſolated country of Naſic.

Succeſs in Golconda.

The firſt account of the ſucceſs of Shaw Jehân's arms arrived at Brampour, from Bakîr the governor of Oriſſa. That province lying contiguous to Golconda, Bakîr had received orders to make a diverſion on that ſide. He accordingly had marched with a conſiderable force; and found the ſide of the country neareſt to Oriſſa uncovered with troops. He laid ſiege to Shudda, Shikeriſt, Chizduar and Berimal, places of great ſtrength in Golconda; and they fell ſucceſſively into his hands. The news of this ſucceſs pleaſed the more the leſs it was expected. In the ſplendour of the other expeditions, that under Bakîr was forgotten; and the emperor ſcarce remembered that he had given orders to the Suba to invade the enemy, when he heard that he had penetrated into the heart of their country. Honours were heaped upon him; and his meſſengers were loaded with preſents.

Lodi commands the confederates

Though Lodi had failed in bringing the united force of the confederates into the field, he led the councils of the

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courts of Golconda and Bijapour. By repreſenting to them, that when they fought one by one all ſhould be overcome, they ſubmitted their armies to his command. He advanced immediately toward the Imperialiſts, and threw himſelf into the paſſes of the mountains before Eradit, who made many vain efforts to penetrate into Golconda. A reinforcement of nine thouſand men were detached to him from the Imperial camp. Nothing would do. His ſituation and abilities enabled Lodi to counteract all his motions; and he either remained inactive, or loſt numbers in fruitleſs attempts. An army, which penetrated from Guzerat into the countries on the coaſt of Malabar, was not ſo unſucceſsful. The ſtrong fortreſs of Chandwar fell into their hands; and they ſpread their devaſtations far and wide.

Affairs at court.

Shaw Jehân was not in the mean time idle at Brampour. Though he directed all the motions of the armies, he was not forgetful of the civil government of his vaſt empire. With a juſtice which bordered on ſeverity, he quaſhed all petty diſturbances through his dominions. He inquired minutely into every department. He heard all complaints againſt his own officers; and when the people were aggrieved, he removed them from their employments. Nor was he, in the midſt of public buſineſs, negligent of that grandeur and magnificence which, by raiſing awe in his ſubjects, gave weight to his commands. He ſelected a hundred out of the ſons of the nobility, who were of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, and created them Omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they were, by their inſtitution, always to attend the preſence. They were all uniformly dreſſed in embroidered cloaths, with golden helmets, ſwords inlaid, and ſhields ſtudded with gold. When the emperor rode abroad, theſe attended him, with drawn ſabres, all mounted on fine Arabian horſes. Out of theſe he choſe his officers; and when he ſent any

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of them on ſervice, his place was immediately ſupplied from another corps who, though not dignified with titles, were equipped in the ſame manner, only that their ornaments were of ſilver. They alſo attended the emperor on horſeback, when he rode abroad.

An action.

Eradit, having deſpaired of being able to force the paſſes of the mountains where Lodi was poſted with the army of the confederates, directed his march another way. He was cloſe purſued by Lodi with twelve thouſand horſe. That general, finding a proper opportunity, attacked the Imperialiſts with great vigour, threw them into confuſion, and went near routing the whole army. Six Omrahs of rank fell on the Imperial ſide; but Eradit having formed his army in order of battle, Lodi thought proper to give way, and to ſhelter himſelf in the hills. Eradit took advantage of his retreat, and hung cloſe upon his heels:—but Lodi had the addreſs not to offer battle, excepting upon unequal terms on the ſide of the enemy. He in the mean time haraſſed the Imperial army with flying ſquadrons; cutting off their convoys, defeating their foraging parties, and laying waſte the country in their rear. Nor was the expedition under Raw Ruton into Tellingana attended with more ſucceſs than that under Eradit. The general was inactive, and the army weak. Raw Ruton was recalled, and diſgraced for his inactivity; and Nazir Chan took the command of the Imperial troops in Tellingana.

Afgans repulſed.

The active ſpirit of Lodi was not confined to the operations of the field. No ſtranger to the ſuperior power of the emperor, he armed againſt him, by his emiſſaries, the Afgans of the north. They iſſued from their hills to make a diverſion on that ſide. They were led by Kemnal, the chief of the Rohilla tribe; and they entered Punjâb, with a numerous but irregular army. The project failed. The emperor deſpiſed too much the depredatory incurſion of naked barbarians, to be frightened by them from his main object. He contented himſelf with ſending orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to repel the invaders. The Afgans accordingly were oppoſed, defeated, and driven with little loſs on the ſide of the empire, to ſhelter themſelves in their native hills. The project of Lodi, though well planned, fell ſhort of the intended effect.

Eradit ſuperſeded in the command of the army.

The ſlow progreſs made by Eradit, againſt the conduct and abilities of Lodi, induced the emperor to think of ſuperſeding him in his command. He had promiſed to himſelf ſucceſs, from the great ſuperiority of his army in point of numbers, and the diſappointment fell heavy on his ambition and pride. To place himſelf at the head of the expedition, was beneath his dignity; and his preſence was otherwiſe neceſſary at Brampour, as the place moſt centrical for conveying his orders to the different armies in the field. Beſides, the civil buſineſs of the ſtate, the ſolid regulation of which he had much at heart, required his attention and application. He therefore reſolved to ſend his viſier Aſiph into the field. His name was great in the empire; and his abilities in war were, at leaſt, equal to his talent for managing the affairs of peace.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. II.

The Viſier commands the army—Defeat of the confederates—Flight, misfortunes, and death of Lodi—Progreſs of the war in the Decan—Death of the favourite Sultana—A famine—Peace in the Decan—Emperor returns to Agra—Perſecution of Idolaters—War with the Portugueze—Their factory taken—Raja of Bundela reduced and ſlain—Marriages of the princes Dara and Suja—War in the Decan—Golconda reduced—Death of Mohábet—Affairs at court.

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Viſier takes the command of the army.

THE viſier, in obedience to the emperor's orders, ſet out from Brampour on the nineteenth of November, with a ſplendid retinue, together with a reinforcement of ten thouſand horſe. He took the command of the army upon his arrival in the mountains, and Eradit remained as his lieutenant; the emperor diſtruſting more the abilities than the courage and fidelity of that Omrah. The name of Aſiph, at the head of the army, ſtruck the confederates with a panic. They were no ſtrangers to his fame; and they began to be conquered in their own minds. They reſolved to retreat from their advantageous poſt. Lodi remonſtrated in vain. They had taken their reſolution, and would not hear him. His haughty ſpirit was diſguſted at their cowardice. Several nobles, formerly his friends, had joined him in his misfortunes, with their retinues. They adhered to his opinion, and reſolved to ſtand by his ſide. They took poſſeſſion of advantageous ground; and they engaged the viſier with great reſolution and conduct. The battle was long equal: numbers at laſt prevailed. Lodi and his brave friend Diria Chan

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covered the retreat of their party, whilſt they themſelves ſlowly retired. The field of action and the paſſes of the mountains remained to the viſier, who immediately detached a great part of the army under his lieutenant Eradit to Dowlatabâd.

The Nizam proposes terms.

The Nizam, being advanced in years, was unfit for the fatigues of the field. He had remained in his capital; but as ſoon as he heard of the approach of Eradit, he evacuated the city, and ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, which was thought impregnable. Lodi, after his defeat, made the beſt of his way to Dowlatabâd, with an intention of throwing himſelf into that capital, to defend it to the laſt extremity. He was too late by ſome hours: Eradit was in the city. He fled, and took poſſeſſion of a paſs near Dowlatabâd, where he defended himſelf till night, againſt the whole force of the Imperialiſts. He eſcaped in the dark, and wandered over Golconda. The army of the Nizam had, by this time, thrown themſelves into the fortreſſes, and the open country was over-run by the enemy. To complete the misfortunes of that prince, his nobles daily deſerted him, with their adherents, and joined Shaw Jehân. He began ſeriouſly to think of peace, and diſpatched ambaſſadors both to the emperor and to the viſier.

Flight,

The emperor had given inſtructions to Aſiph to liſten to no terms, without a preliminary article, that Lodi ſhould be delivered into his hands. The affairs of the Nizam were deſperate; and Lodi was afraid that neceſſity would get the better of friendſhip. He now conſidered his allies as his greateſt enemies, and he reſolved to fly from Golconda. The emperor had foreſeen what was to happen, and he placed ſtrong detachments in all the paſſes of the mountains. Notwithſtanding this precaution, in ſpite of the general orders for ſeizing him diſperſed over the country, Lodi forced his way, with four hundred men, into

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Malava, and arrived at the city of Ugein. Shaw Jehân was no ſooner appriſed of his eſcape, than he ſent Abdalla in purſuit of him with ten thouſand horſe. Abdalla came up with the fugitive at Ugein, but he eſcaped to Debalpour; and being alſo driven from that place, he ſurpriſed Sirong, where he ſeized ſeveral Imperial elephants; and with theſe he took the route of Bundela.

misfortunes,

Misfortune purſued Lodi wherever he went. The Raja's ſon, to gain the emperor's favour, fell upon him. In the action he loſt many of his beſt friends. Deria was the firſt who fell; and the unfortunate Lodi gave up his ſoul to grief. He fled; but it was to accumulated miſery. He fell in, the very next day, with the army of Abdalla: there ſcarce was time for flight. His eldeſt ſon, Mahommed Azîz, ſtopt, with a few friends, in a narrow part of the road; and devoting their lives for the ſafety of Lodi, were cut off to a man. He waited half the night on a neighbouring hill, with a vain expectation of the return of his gallant ſon. All was ſilent; and the unhappy father was diſſolved in tears. The noiſe of arms approached at laſt; but it was the enemy, recent from the ſlaughter of his ſon and his friends. He fled toward Callenger; but Seid Amud, the governor of that place, marched out againſt him. A ſkirmiſh enſued: Lodi was defeated; Huſſein, the only ſon left to him, was ſlain, and his adherents were now reduced to thirty horſemen. He was purſued with ſuch vehemence, that he had not even time for deſpair.

and death of Lodi;

Abdalla, hearing of the low ebb of Lodi's fortune, divided his army into ſmall parties, to ſcour the country. A detachment under Muziffer Chan fell in with the unfortunate fugitive. When he ſaw the enemy at a ſmall diſtance, he called together his thirty followers. "Misfortune," ſaid he, "has devoted me to ruin: it is in "vain to ſtruggle longer againſt the ſtream. I have loſt my ſons;

"but your attachment, in the laſt extreme, tells me I have not "loſt all my friends. I only remain of my family, but let me "not involve you in the deſtruction which overwhelms me without reſource. Your adherence is a proof that I have conferred "favours upon you: permit me to aſk one favour in my turn. It "is—that you leave me—and ſave yourſelves by flight." They burſt all into tears, and told him, that was the only command from him which they could not obey. He was ſilent, and gave the ſignal with his ſword to advance. Muziffer was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw thirty men marching up againſt his numerous detachment. He imagined they were coming to ſurrender themſelves. But when they had come near his line, they put their horſes on a gallop, and Muziffer ordered his men to fire. A ball pierced Lodi through the left breaſt; he fell dead at the feet of his horſe, and his thirty faithful companions were cut off to a man.

His character.

Such was the end of Chan Jehân Lodi, after a ſeries of uncommon misfortunes. He was deſcended of the Imperial family of Lodi, who held the ſceptre of India before the Moguls. His mind was as high as his deſcent: his courage was equal to his ambition. He was full of honour, and generous in the extreme. His pride prevented him from ever gaining an enemy, and he never loſt a friend. The attachment of his followers to his perſon, is the beſt eulogy on the benevolence of his mind; and the fears of the emperor are irrefragable proofs of his abilities. Thoſe misfortunes therefore, which might have excited pity had they fallen upon others, drew admiration only on Lodi. We feel compaſſion for the weak; great men are a match for adverſity: the conteſt is equal, and we yield to no emotion but ſurprize.

Negociation broke off.

When the news of the death of Lodi arrived in the Imperial camp, Shaw Jehân betrayed every ſymptom of joy. The head of

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the unfortunate rebel was placed above one of the gates of the city of Brampour. Abdalla was careſſed for his ſervices. Valuable preſents were given him, and he was dignified with the ſplendid title of, THE SUN OF OMRAHS, AND THE VICTORIOUS IN WAR. Muziffer, whoſe fortune it was to kill Lodi, was raiſed to the dignity of the deceaſed, being afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Chan Jehân. The negociations for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the emperor and the confederate princes of the Decan, was, in the mean time, broke off by the too great nemands on the part of Shaw Jehân. Hoſtilities were accordingly recommenced, and Eradit was left in the command of the army; the public buſineſs demanding the preſence of the viſier at court. The confederates had, as has been already obſerved, retired from the field into their ſtrong holds. The war was converted into a ſucceſſion of ſieges. The fortreſſes were ſtrong, the garriſons determined, and the Imperialiſts unſkilful; but the emperor was obſtinate, and would not abate from his firſt demands. The conſequence was, that Shaw Jehân, after a war of two years, in which he loſt multitudes of men by famine, diſeaſe, and the ſword; and after having expended prodigious treaſures, found himſelf poſſeſſed of a few forts, his army tired out with ineffectual hoſtilities, and the enemy diſtreſſed, but not vanquiſhed.

Progreſs of the Imperial arms.

A minute detail of unimportant campaigns would be tedious and dry. Unintereſting particulars and events ſcarce ſtamp a ſufficient value on time, to merit the pen of the hiſtorian. In the ſummer of 1631, Damawir, the ſtrongeſt fort in Golconda was taken. In the beginning of the year 1632, Candumâr in Tellingana, which was deemed impregnable, fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Little treaſure was found in either. The Patan princes never had a diſpoſition for hoarding up wealth. A fierce, warlike, and independent race of men, they valued the hard-tempered ſteel of their ſwords more than gold and ſilver, which the reſt of mankind ſo much prize.

Death and character of the Sultana.

On the eighteenth day of July 1631, died in child-bed, about two hours after the birth of a princeſs, the favourite Sultana, Arjemund Banu, the daughter of Aſiph Jah. She had been twenty years married to Shaw Jehân, and bore him a child almoſt every year. Four ſons and four daughters ſurvived her. When her huſband aſcended the throne, he dignified her with the title of Mumtâza Zemâni, or, THE MOST EXALTED OF THE AGE. Though ſhe ſeldom interfered in public affairs, Shaw Jehân owed the empire to her influence with her father. Nor was he ungrateful: he loved her living, and lamented her when dead. Calm, engaging, and mild in her diſpoſition, ſhe engroſſed his whole affection: and though he maintained a number of women for ſtate, they were only the ſlaves of her pleaſure. She was ſuch an enthuſiaſt in Deiſm, that ſhe ſcarce could forbear perſecuting the Portugueſe for their ſuppoſed idolatry; and it was only on what concerned that nation, ſhe ſuffered her temper, which was naturally placid, to be ruffled. To expreſs his reſpect for her memory, the emperor raiſed at Agra, a tomb to her name, which coſt in building the amazing ſum of ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

Public calamities.

The death of the Sultana was followed by public calamities of various kinds. The war in the Decan produced nothing but the deſolation of that country. An extraordinary drought, which burnt up all vegetables, dried up the rivers, and rent the very ground, occaſioned a dreadful famine. The Imperial camp could not be ſupplied with proviſions: diſtreſs prevailed over the whole face of the empire. Shaw Jehân remitted the taxes in many of the provinces, to the amount of three millions ſterling; he even

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opened the treaſury for the relief of the poor; but money could not purchaſe bread: a prodigious mortality enſued; diſeaſe followed cloſe on the heels of famine, and death ravaged every corner of India. The ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed in Perſia: the famine raged with ſtill greater violence in the Weſtern Tartary. No rain had fallen for ſeven years in that country. Populous and flouriſhing provinces were converted into ſolitudes and deſarts; and a few, who eſcaped the general calamity, wandered through depopulated cities alone.

The confederates ſue for peace.

But as if famine and diſeaſe were not ſufficient to deſtroy mankind, Aſiph Jâh, who had reſumed the command of the army, aſſiſted them with the ſword. He trod down the ſcanty harveſt in the Decan; and ravaged with fire and ſword the kingdom of Bijapour. Adil Shaw, the ſovereign of the country, came into terms when nothing was left worthy of defence. He promiſed to pay an annual tribute to the houſe of Timur, and to own himſelf a dependent on the empire. Money was extorted from the Nizam, and from Kuttub, prince of Tellingana. The conditions were, That the emperor ſhould remove his army; but that he ſhould retain, by way of ſecurity for their future behaviour, the ſtrong-holds which had fallen into his hands. Such was the end of a war, begun from motives of conqueſt, and continued through pride. The emperor, after ſquandering a great treaſure, and loſing a multitude of men, ſat down without extending his limits, without acquiring reputation. His great ſuperiority in point of ſtrength, when compared to the ſmall force of the confederates, prevented battles which might yield him renown. He waſted his ſtrength on ſieges, and had to contend with greater evils than the ſwords of the enemy. He, however, humbled the Patan power in India, which, during the diſtractions

occaſioned

occaſioned by his own rebellion in the preceding reign, had become formidable to the family of Timur.

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Return of the emperor to Agra.

The emperor returned not to Agra, from the unprofitable war in the Decan, till the ſeventh of March of the year 1633. Eradit was left in the city of Brampour, in his former office of governor of Chandeiſh. He, however, did not long continue to execute the duties of a commiſſion which was the greateſt the emperor could beſtow. The command of the army, ſtationed on the frontiers of the Decan, had been annexed to the ſubaſhip of the province; and though Shaw Jehân was in no great terror of Eradit's abilities, he, at that time, placed no truſt in his fidelity. The command and the province were offered to the viſier; who was alarmed leſt it might be a pretence of removing him from the preſence. He covered his diſlike to the meaſure with an act of generoſity. He recommended Mohâbet to the office deſtined for himſelf; and the emperor, though, from a jealouſy of that lord's reputation, he had kept him during the war in the command of the army near Brampour, conſented to grant his requeſt. He, however, inſinuated to Mohâbet, that he could not ſpare him from his councils; and, therefore, recommended to him to appoint his ſon Chan Zimân his deputy, in the province of Chandeiſh.

Perſecution of the Hindoos.

The emperor had obſerved, that during the diſtreſs occaſioned by the late famine, the ſuperſtitious Hindoos, inſtead of cultivating their lands, flew to the ſhrines of their gods. Though neither an enthuſiaſt, nor even attached to any ſyſtem of religion, he was enraged at their neglect of the means of ſubſiſtence, for the uncertain relief to be obtained by prayer. "They have a thouſand gods," ſaid he, "yet the thouſand have not been able to guard them from famine. This army of divinities," continued he, "inſtead of being beneficial to their votaries, diſtract their

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attention by their own numbers; and I am therefore determined to expel them from my empire." Theſe were the words of Shaw Jehân, when he ſigned an edict for breaking down the idols, and for demoliſhing the temples of the Hindoos. The meaſure was impolitic, and, in the event, cruel. The zealous followers of the Brahmin religion roſe in defence of their gods, and many enthuſiaſts were maſſacred in their preſence. Shaw Jehân ſaw the impropriety of the perſecution; he recalled the edict, and was heard to ſay, "That a prince who wiſhes to have ſubjects, muſt take them with all the trumpery and bawbles of their religion."

Suba of Bengal complains of the Portugueze.

Soon after this inſult on the ſuperſtition of Brahma, letters were received at court from Caſim Chan, governor of Bengal. Caſim complained to the emperor, that he was very much diſturbed in the duties of his office by a parcel of European idolaters, for ſo he called the Portugueſe, who had been permitted to eſtabliſh themſelves at Hugley, for the purpoſes of trade; that, inſtead of confining their attention to the buſineſs of merchants, they had fortified themſelves in that place, and were become ſo inſolent, that they committed many acts of violence upon the ſubjects of the empire, and preſumed to exact duties from all the boats and veſſels which paſſed by their fort. The emperor wrote him in the following laconic manner: "Expel theſe idolaters from my dominions." The ſeverity of this order proceeded from another cauſe.

Their inſolence to Shaw Jehân.

When Shaw Jehân, after the battle at the Nirbidda, found himſelf obliged to take refuge in the eaſtern provinces, he paſſed through Orixa into Bengal. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Dacca, Michael Rodriguez, who commanded the Portugueze forces at Hugley, paid him a viſit of ceremony. Shaw Jehân, after the firſt compliments were over, requeſted the aſſiſtance of Rodriguez, with his ſoldiers and artillery; making large promiſes of favour and emolument, ſhould he himſelf ever come to the poſſeſſion of the throne of Hindoſtan. The governor ſaw the deſperate condition of the prince's affairs, and would not grant his requeſt. He had the imprudence to add inſult to his refuſal, by inſinuating, that he would be aſhamed of ſerving under a rebel, who had wantonly taken up arms againſt his father and ſovereign. Shaw Jehân was ſilent; but he laid up the ſarcaſm in his mind. He, therefore, liſtened with ardour to the repreſentations of Caſim; and ordered him to inveſt Hugley.

Hugley taken by aſſault.

Caſim, in conſequence of the Imperial orders, appeared with an army before the Portugueſe factory. Their force was not ſufficient to face him in the field; and he immediately made his approaches in form. A breach was made, and the ditch filled up in a few days; and the Imperialiſts carried the place by aſſault. The Portugueſe, however, behaved with bravery. They continued to fight from their houſes. Many were killed, and the living propoſed terms. They offered half their effects to Caſim; they promiſed to pay an annual tribute of four lacks, upon condition that they ſhould be permitted to remain in the country, in their former privileges of trade. The victor would liſten to no terms until they laid down their arms. Three thouſand ſouls fell into his hands. Their lives were ſpared; but the images, which had given ſo much offence to the favourite Sultana, were broken down and deſtroyed. Theſe were the firſt hoſtilities againſt Europeans recorded in the hiſtories of the Eaſt.

Revolt of the Raja of Bundela.

The petty war with the Portugueſe, was ſucceeded by the ſecond revolt of the Raja of Bundela. The terms impoſed upon him at the reduction of his country by Mohâbet, were too ſevere; and he only had remained quiet to prepare for

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another effort againſt the Imperial power. Aurungzêbe, the third ſon of the emperor, was ſent againſt him, under the tuition of Nuſerit, the Suba of Malava. This was the firſt opportunity given to that young lion of rioting in blood. The Raja, though much inferior in force, was obſtinate and brave. Poſſeſſed of many ſtrong holds, he reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, againſt an enemy whom he could not, with any aſſurance of victory, face in the field. The war was protracted for two years. Judger Singh maintained every poſt to the laſt; and he yielded in one place, only to retire with accumulated fortitude to another. Aurungzêbe, though but thirteen years of age, diſplayed that martial intrepidity which diſtinguiſhed the reſt of his life. He could not, by the influence of Nuſerit, be reſtrained in the camp: he was preſent in every danger, and ſhewed an elevation of mind in the time of action, which proved that he was born for tumult and war.

His misfortunes, bravery,

The laſt place which remained to the Raja was his capital city; and in this he was cloſely beſieged. He was hemmed in on every ſide by the Imperial army; and the circle grew narrower every day. Reſolution was at laſt converted into deſpair. His braveſt ſoldiers were cut off: his friends had gradually fallen. The helpleſs part of his family, his women and children, remained. He propoſed terms; but his fortunes were too low to obtain them. To leave them to the enemy, would be diſhonourable; to remain himſelf, certain death to him, but no relief to them. He ſet fire to the town; and he eſcaped through the flames which overwhelmed his family. A few horſemen were the companions of his flight; and Nuſerit followed cloſe on their heels for two hundred miles. The Raja at laſt croſſed the Nirbidda, and penetrated into the country of Canduana.

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and death.

The unfortunate prince was, at length, overcome with fatigue. He came into a foreſt, and finding a pleaſant plain in the middle, he reſolved to halt; dreaming of no danger in the center of an impervious wood. Both he and his followers alighted, and tying their horſes to trees, betook themſelves to reſt. A barbarous race of men poſſeſſed the country round. They had not ſeen the Raja's troop, but the neighing of his horſes led ſome of them to the ſpot. Looking from the thicket into the narrow plain where the fugitives lay, they perceived, to their aſtoniſhment, a number of men richly dreſſed, ſleeping on the ground; and fine horſes ſtanding near, with furniture of ſilver and gold. The temptation was too great to be withſtood by men who had never ſeen ſo much wealth before. They ruſhed upon the ſtrangers; and ſtabbed them in their ſleep. While they were yet dividing the ſpoil, Nuſerit came. The robbers were ſlain; and the head of the Raja was brought back to the army, which Nuſerit had left under the command of Aurungzêbe. In the vaults of the Raja's palace were found to the value of three millions in ſilver coin, in gold, and in jewels, which Aurungzêbe laid at the feet of his father, as the firſt fruit of his victories. He was received with uncommon demonſtrations of joy; and Nuſerit, for his ſervices, was raiſed to a higher rank of nobility.

Marriages of the princes Dara and Suja.

During theſe tranſactions, all remained quiet at court. The emperor applied to public buſineſs; nor was he forgetful of pleaſure. Though, during the life of the Sultana, his affections were confined to her alone, he became diſſolute after her deceaſe. The vaſt number of women whom he kept for ſtate in his haram, had among them many enchanting beauties. He wandered from one charming object to another, without fixing his mind on any; and enjoyed their converſation, without being the dupe of their art. The daughter of his brother Purvez was now grown into mar-

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riageable years; and he gave her to wife to his eldeſt ſon Dara, whom he deſtined for the throne. Suja, his ſecond ſon, was at the ſame time married to the daughter of Ruſtum Suffavi, of the royal line of Perſia. The ceremonies of theſe two marriages were attended with uncommon pomp and feſtivity: eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds were expended out of the public treaſury alone; and the nobles contended with one another in expenſive entertainments and ſhews.

Mohâbet invades Golconda.

Though the jealouſy of the emperor prevented Mohâbet for ſome time from taking upon himſelf the Subaſhip of Chandeiſh, and command of the army on the frontiers, that lord was at laſt permitted to retire to his government. His active genius could not remain idle long. Diſſatisfied with the conduct of his predeceſſor Eradit, who had carried on the late unſucceſsful war in the Decan, he found means of renewing hoſtilities with the Nizâm. He led accordingly the Imperial army into the kingdom of Golconda. The Nizâm was no match for that able general in the field, and he ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Dowlatabâd. Mohâbet ſat down before it; but for the ſpace of ſix months he could make little impreſſion upon it, from its uncommon ſtrength and ſituation.

Takes Dowlatabâd.

The citadel of Dowlatabâd is built on a ſolid rock, almoſt perpendicular on every ſide, which riſes one hundred and forty yards above the plain. The circumference of the outermoſt wall is five thouſand yards; the thickneſs, at the foundation, five; the height fifteen. The ſpace within is divided into nine fortifications, ſeparated by ſtrong walls, riſing gradually above one another toward the center, by which means each commands that which is next to it beneath. The entrance is by a ſubterraneous paſſage cut from the level of the plain, which riſes into the center of the inner fort, by a winding ſtair-caſe. On the outſide, the entrance is ſecured with iron gates; the top of the ſtair-caſe is covered with a maſſy grate, on which a large fire is always kept during a ſiege. But the ſtrength of Dowlatabâd was not proof againſt treachery. Fatté, the ſon of Maleck Amber, who was the governor, ſold it to Mohâbet for a ſum of money, and an annual penſion of twenty-five thouſand pounds, ſecured on the Imperial treaſury.

The Nizâm confined.

The old Nizâm was dead before the treachery of Fatté had delivered up the impregnable fortreſs of Dowlatabâd to Mohâbet. An infant ſucceeded him; and Fatté choſe to make terms for himſelf, under the uncertainty of the young prince's fortunes. The delivery of the Nizâm into the hands of the Imperial general, was one of the conditions impoſed on Fattè for the bribe which he received. The prince was carried to Agra. He was treated with apparent reſpect and kindneſs by the empéror; but it was dangerous to permit him to remain at large. He was ordered into confinement in the caſtle of Gualiâr; with an attendance of women and ſervants to alleviate his captivity. His dominions, in the mean time, were annexed to the empire; and Mohâbet, with his wonted abilities, eſtabliſhed the form of government, by which the new province was to be, for the future, regulated.

Suja ſent to the Decan.

The animoſity and jealouſy which broke out afterwards among the princes, the four ſons of Shaw Jehân, made their firſt appearance at this time. Aurungzêbe, who ſhewed a courage and underſtanding beyond his years, was in great favour with the emperor. He delighted to encourage him in the martial exerciſes, which the prince ardently loved; and though he did not abate in his regard for his other ſons, they repined at the preference given to Aurungzêbe. A feat which that prince performed on his birth-day, when he entered his fifteenth year, ſtrengthened his

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intereſt in his father's affections. He fought on horſeback againſt an elephant, in the preſence of the emperor and the whole court; and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. The whole empire rung with his praiſe; and the action was celebrated in verſe by Saib Selim, the beſt poet of the age. The prince Suja naturally high-ſpirited and jealous, ſhewed violent ſigns of diſcontent at the preference given to Aurungzêbe. He began to look upon his younger brother as deſigned for the throne; and his haughty mind could not endure the thought. He wiſhed to be abſent from a ſcene which gave him uneaſineſs; and he prevailed on Mohâbet to write to the emperor, requeſting that he ſhould be ſent to him to the Decan. Shaw Jehân conſented. Suja was created an Omrah of five thouſand horſe; and, having received ſixty thouſand pounds for his expences from the treaſury, he took leave of his father.

Jealouſy of Dara.

Dara, the Imperial prince, highly reſented the honours conferred on Suja. He himſelf had hitherto remained at court, without either office or eſtabliſhment. He complained to his father with great vehemence; and the latter endeavoured to ſooth his ſon, by inſinuating, that from his great affection for him, he could not permit him to take the field; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. Dara would not be ſatisfied with theſe reaſons; and the emperor, to make him eaſy, gave him the command of ſix thouſand horſe. The prince, however, could not forget the prior honours of Suja. He was told that Mohâbet deſigned that prince for the throne; and there were ſome grounds for ſuſpicion on that head. Had Shaw Jehân had a ſerious deſign of favouring Suja, he could not have fallen upon more effectual means of ſerving him, than by placing him under the tuition of ſo able an officer as Mohâbet. But he had no intention of that kind. He had fixed on Dara as his ſucceſſor; though

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there was little policy in his placing Suja in the channel of acquiring the favour of the army, a knowledge of the world, and a ſuperior ſkill in war. It was upon theſe grounds, that Dara juſtly complained; and the ſequel will ſhew, that he judged better than his father of the conſequences.

Emperor's progreſs to Caſhmire.

On the fifth of April 1634, the emperor marched from Agra toward Lahore. He moved ſlowly, taking the diverſion of hunting in all the foreſts on the way. He himſelf was an excellent ſportſman; and the writer of his life relates, that he ſhot forty deer with his own hand, before he reached Delhi. In that city he remained a few days; and then proceeded to Lahore, where he arrived after a journey of more than a month. The governours of the northern provinces met the emperor near the city; and, with theſe and his own retinue, Shaw Jehân went with great pomp to viſit the tomb of his father. He diſtinguiſhed, by peculiar attention and acts of favour, Mirza Bakir and Sheich Beloli, two learned men, who reſided at Lahore; and, having made a conſiderable preſent to the Fakiers, who kept up the perpetual lamp in his father's tomb, he ſet out for the kingdom of Caſhmire, on the limits of which he arrived on the thirteenth of June. Pleaſure was his only buſineſs to Caſhmire. He relaxed his mind from public affairs for ſome days, and amuſed himſelf with viewing the curious ſprings, the caſcades, the hanging woods, and the lakes, which diverſify the delightful and romantic face of that beautiful country. His progreſs was celebrated in verſe by Mahommed Jân: but his care for the ſtate ſoon brought him back to Lahore.

Suja recalled.

The Prince Suja arrived in the Imperial army in the Decan, while Mohâbet was yet ſettling the affairs of the conquered dominions of the Nizâm. The general received him with all the

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Death and character of Mohâbet.

Mohâbet was one of the moſt extraordinary characters that ever figured in India. Severe in diſpoſition, haughty in command, rigid in the execution of his orders, he was feared and reſpected; but never beloved by an indolent and effeminate race of men. In conduct he was unrivalled, in courage he had few equals, and none in ſucceſs. In the field he was active, daring and intrepid, always in perfect poſſeſſion of his own mind. His abilities ſeemed to riſe with the occaſion; and Fortune could preſent nothing in battle which his prudence had not foreſeen. In his political character, he was bold in his reſolves, active and determined in execution. As his own ſoul was above fear, he was an enemy to cruelty; and he was ſo honeſt himſelf, that he ſeldom ſuſpected others. His demeanor was lofty and reſerved; his manner full of dignity and grace: he was generous and always ſincere. He attempted high and arduous things, rather from a love of danger than from ambition; and when he had attained the ſummit of greatneſs, and might have reſted there, he deſcended the precipice, becauſe it was full of peril. Jehangire owed twice to him his throne; once to his valour, and once to his moderation; and his name gave the empire to Shaw Jehân, more than the friendſhip of Aſiph Jâh.

Anecdotes

Notwithſtanding the great abilities of Mohâbet, he ſeemed to be ſenſible of his own merit, and conſcious of his importance in the ſtate. He was punctilious about rank; and would upon no occaſion give place to the viſier; who would not relinquiſh the precedence which he derived from his high office. The diſpute was carried ſo high between theſe two great men in the beginning of the reign of Shaw Jehân, that it was agreed they ſhould not come to court on the ſame day. The emperor did not chuſe to interfere in the conteſt: they were both his benefactors, both were powerful in the ſtate; and it would not be prudent to diſoblige one, by giving preference to the claims of the other. He, however, was at laſt prevailed upon to decide in favour of Aſiph: And he made his excuſe to Mohâbet, by ſaying, "That in all civilized governments the ſword ſhould yield to the pen." Mohâbet ſubmitted; but he avoided ever-after, as much as poſſible, the ceremony of appearing publicly in the preſence of the emperor.

concerning him.

Theſe diſputes, though they did not break out into an open rupture between the viſier and Mohâbet, were the ſource of a coldneſs between them. Shaw Jehân was at no pains to reconcile them. He was unwilling to throw the influence of both into one channel; and by alternately favouring each, he kept alive their jealouſy. Mohâbet had a numerous party at court; and they had once almoſt ruined the power of Aſiph by recommend-

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ing him to the emperor, as the only fit man for ſettling the affairs of the Decan. His commiſſion was ordered without his knowledge; but he fell upon means of turning the artillery of the enemy upon themſelves. He perſuaded the emperor that Mohâbet only was fit to conduct the war; at the ſame time that he made a merit with that general, of transferring to him a government the moſt lucrative and important in the empire.

Embaſſy to the Uſbecs.

The emperor, upon the death of Mohâbet, ſeparated the command of the army from the government of the Decan. Iſlam Chan became general of the forces, with the title of paymaſter-general; and the Subaſhip was conferred on Chan Zimân, the ſon of Mohâbet. In the beginning of January 1635, Tirbiet Chan returned from his embaſſy to Mahommed, prince of Balick. That lord had been ſent to Mahommed to demand redreſs for the incurſions of his ſubjects into the northern provinces. Mahommed excuſed the inſult, in ſubmiſſive letters, accompanied with preſents; the moſt valuable of which, to a prince of Shaw Jehân's amorous diſpoſition, was the young and beautiful Malika Shadè, the daughter of Mahommed Sultân, lineally deſcended from Timur. The emperor received this northern beauty with exceſs of joy; and ſoon forgot the invaſions of the Uſbecs in her charms.

Emperor returns to Agra.

Shaw Jehân, after his return from Caſhmire, continued for ſome time at Lahore. He left that city on the 27th of January, and arrived at Agra on the 23d of March 1635. Nadira, the daughter of Purvez, and wife of the Imperial prince Dara, was brought to bed, on the way, of a ſon; who received the name of Solimân Sheko from his grandfather. Great rejoicings were made upon the birth of the prince; and the emperor, upon the occaſion, mounted a new throne formed of ſolid gold, emboſſed with

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various figures, and ſtudded with precious ſtones. The throne had been ſeven years in finiſhing, and the expence of the jewels only amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of our money. It was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Tuckt Taôus, or the Peacock Throne, from having the figures of two peacocks ſtanding behind it with their tails ſpread, which were ſtudded with jewels of various colours to repreſent the life. Between the peacocks ſtood a parrot of the ordinary ſize, cut out of one emerald. The fineſt jewel in the throne was a ruby, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398. Jehangire, with peculiar barbarity, diminiſhed the beauty and luſtre of the ſtone, by engraving upon it his own name and titles; and when he was reproved for this piece of vanity by the favourite Sultana, he replied, "This ſtone will perhaps carry my name down further through time, than the empire of the houſe of Timur."

Promotions.

The feſtival on account of the birth of Solimân, was ſucceeded by various promotions at court. Aurungzêbe was created an Omrah of five thouſand horſe; and the viſier was raiſed to the high dignity of captain-general of the Imperial forces. Shaw Jehân was not altogether diſintereſted in conferring this honour on Aſiph. He paid him a viſit in his own houſe upon his appointment, and received a preſent of five lacks of roupees; which he immediately added to the ſum of one million and an half ſterling, which he laid out in the courſe of the year on public buildings, and on canals for bringing water to Agra.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. III.

Emperor's expedition to the Decan—Reduction of that country—Death of Chan Zimân—An inſurrection in Behâr—Quelled—Candahâr reſtored to the empire—Invaſion from Aſſâm—Reduction of Tibet—Oppreſſive governors puniſhed—Prince Suja narrowly eſcapes from the flames of Rajamâhil—An embaſſy to Conſtantinople—Calamities in the northern provinces—Death and character of Aſiph Jâh—Tirbiet puniſhed for oppreſſion—An invaſion threatened from Perſia—Interrupted by the death of Shaw Sefi.

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SHAW JEHAN, whether moſt prompted by avarice or by ambition is uncertain, formed a reſolution to reduce the Mahommedan ſovereignties of the Decan into provinces of the Mogul empire. The conqueſts made by his generals were partial. They had laid waſte, but had not ſubdued the country; and when moſt ſucceſsful, they impoſed contributions rather than a tribute on the enemy. Even the great abilities of Mohâbet were not attended with a ſucceſs equal to the ſanguine hopes of the emperor; and all his proſpects of conqueſt vaniſhed at the death of that able general. Shaw Jehân, though addicted to the enervating pleaſures of the haram, was rouzed by his ambition to mark his reign with ſome ſplendid conqueſt; "For it is not enough," he ſaid, "for a "great prince to ſend only to his poſterity the dominions which "he has received from his fathers." The thought was more

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magnificent than wiſe. To improve the conqueſts of his fathers with true policy, would be more uſeful to his poſterity, and more glorious to himſelf, than to exhauſt his ſtrength in violent efforts to extend the limits of his empire. He however had determined on the meaſure; and the advice of his moſt prudent Omrahs and counſellors was deſpiſed.

He ſets out from Agra.

On the firſt of October 1636, he ſet out from Agra with his uſual pomp and magnificence. Dowlatabâd was the point to which he directed his march; but his progreſs was politically ſlow. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces as he advanced; and the diſtance of many of them from the intended ſcene of action, required time to bring them to the field. The prince Aurungzêbe attended his father on this expedition, and was highly in favour. He propoſed, with a youthful ardor which pleaſed the emperor, to take a circuit with the Imperial camp, through the province of Bundela, to view the ſtrong holds which he himſelf, under the tuition of Nuſerit, had ſome time before taken from the unfortunate Judger Singh. The emperor had not as yet collected a force ſufficient to enſure ſucceſs to his arms; and to gain time, he liſtened to the requeſt of his ſon. The whole of the year was paſſed in premeditated delays, and in excurſions of hunting; ſo that the emperor did not arrive in the Decan till the latter end of the rainy ſeaſon of the 1637 of the Chriſtian æra.

He lays waſte the enemy's country.

The Subas of the different provinces had, with their troops, joined the emperor on his march. His force was prodigious when he entered the borders of the enemy. On his arrival at Dowlatabâd, he was able to form twelve different armies, which, under twelve leaders, he ſent into the kingdoms of Bijapour and Tellingana. The princes of the country had collected their forces, but they

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they knew not to which quarter they ſhould direct their march. The Imperialiſts formed a circle round them, and war was at once in all parts of their dominions. The orders of the emperor were barbarous and cruel. He ſubmitted the open country to fire; and garriſons that reſiſted were put to the ſword. "War is an evil," he ſaid; "and compaſſion contributes only to render that evil permanent." The eaſtern writers deſcribe the miſeries of the Decan in the peculiar hyperboles of their diction. "Towns and cities," ſay they, "were ſeen in flames on every ſide; the hills were ſhaken with the continual roar of artillery, and tigers and the wild beaſts of the deſert fled from the rage of men." One hundred and fifteen towns and caſtles were taken and deſtroyed in the courſe of the year. The emperor ſate, in the mean time, aloft in the citadel of Dowlatabâd, and looked down, with horrid joy, on the tempeſt which he himſelf had raiſed around.

which ſubmits.

The devaſtations committed by the expreſs orders of the emperor, had at laſt the intended effect on the ſovereigns of Tellingana and Bijapour. Shut up in their ſtrongeſt forts, they could not aſſiſt their ſubjects, who were either ruined or maſſacred without mercy around them. They propoſed peace in the moſt humble and ſupplicating terms. Shaw Jehân took advantage of their neceſſities, and impoſed ſevere conditions. They were eſtabliſhed, by commiſſion from the emperor, as hereditary governors of their own dominions, upon agreeing to give a large annual tribute, the firſt payment of which was to be made at the ſigning of the treaty. The princes beſides were to acknowledge the emperor and his ſucceſſors lords paramount of the Decan in all their public deeds, and to deſign themſelves, The humble ſubjects of the empire of the Moguls.

Emperor returns to Ajmere.

The treaty being ſigned and ratified, the emperor left his ſon Aurungzêbe under the tuition of Chan Zimân, the ſon of Mohâbet,

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at the head of a conſiderable force, to awe his new ſubjects. In the ſtrong holds which had fallen into his hands during the war, he placed garriſons; and, having left the Decan, took the route of Ajmere. On the eighth of December 1638, he arrived in that city, and viſited the ſhrine of Moin ul Dien, more from a deſire to pleaſe the ſuperſtitious among his courtiers, than from his own devotion. He had not remained long at Ajmere when the prince Aurungzêbe arrived, to celebrate his nuptials with the daughter of Shaw Nawâz, the ſon of Aſiph Jâh. The viſier, who had remained during the war at Agra, to manage the civil affairs of the empire, came to join the court at Ajmere, accompanied by Morâd, the emperor's youngeſt ſon, and was preſent at the ſplendid feſtival held in honour of the marriage of his grandſon with his granddaughter.

Death of Chan Zimân.

Soon after the departure of Aurungzêbe from the army in the Decan, Chan Zimân, fell ſick and died. His death was much regretted by the whole empire. Calm, manly and generous, he was eſteemed, reſpected, and beloved. He was poſſeſſed of all the polite accompliſhments of the gentleman: he was a brave general, a good ſtateſman, an excellent ſcholar, and a poet. Under his original name of Mirza Amani, he publiſhed a collection of his poems, which are ſtill in high repute for their energy and elegance over all the Eaſt. The emperor was ſo ſenſible of the high merit of Chan Zimân, that he ſincerely lamented his death, and ſpoke much in his praiſe in the hall of the preſence, before the whole nobility. “We did not miſs,” ſaid he, “the abilities of Mohâbet, till we loſt his ſon.” Aurungzêbe received immediate orders to repair to the Decan, and to take upon himſelf the ſole command of the Imperial army, ſtationed in the conquered provinces.

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Inſurrection in Behâr.

During theſe tranſactions in Ajmere, the revolt of the Raja of Budgepour happened in the province of Behâr. The emperor detached a part of the army under Abdalla to ſuppreſs the inſurrection. Abdalla at the ſame time received a commiſſion to govern Behâr in quality of Suba. He attacked and defeated the Raja on his firſt arrival; and that unfortunate prince, whoſe love of independence had made him overlook his own want of power, was reduced to the laſt extremity. He ſhut himſelf up in a fortreſs which was inveſted on all ſides. When a breach was made in the walls, and the orders for the aſſault were iſſued, the Raja came out of his caſtle, leading his children in his hand. He might have been pardoned; but his wife appearing behind him, ſealed his doom. She was extremely handſome, and Abdalla, though old himſelf, wiſhed to grace his haram with a beautiful widow. The unfortunate Raja, therefore, was put to death on the ſpot as a rebel.

Candahâr delivered up to the empire.

The news of the defeat and death of the Raja of Budgepour had ſcarce arrived at court, when Shaw Jehân received an agreeable piece of intelligence from the northern frontier of the empire. The feeble adminiſtration of Sefi, who ſucceeded Shaw Abas in the throne of Perſia, had thrown the affairs of that kingdom into confuſion. Ali Murdan commanded in the fortreſs of Candahâr. His fidelity was ſuſpected; and, beſides, he ſaw no end of the troubles which diſtracted his country. He reſolved to ſave himſelf from the malice of his enemies, by delivering the city to the emperor of Hindoſtan, from whoſe hands it had been wreſted by Shaw Abas. A negociation was therefore ſet on foot by Ali Murdan with Seid Chan, the governor of Cabul. His terms were only for himſelf. Seid cloſed with him in the name of his ſovereign. He ſent his ſon in haſte with a force to Candahâr, which was delivered by Ali Murdan, who ſet out immediately to pay his reſpects to his new ſovereign.

Perſians defeated.

Sefi no ſooner heard of the treachery of Ali Murdan, than he iſſued orders for a force to march from Choraſſan to retake Candahâr. This expedition was under the conduct of Seâhôſh. That officer appeared before the city with ſeven thouſand horſe; but Seid, who commanded in the place, ſallied out with an inferior force, and totally defeated the Perſians, for which ſignal ſervice he was raiſed, by the name of Ziffer Jung, to the dignity of ſix thouſand horſe. Gulzâr, the governor of Moultan, was removed to Candahâr; and as a general war with Perſia was apprehended, the prince Suja was diſpatched with a great army to the province of Cabul. Before Gulzâr arrived at his new government, Seid following his victory over the Perſians, penetrated into Seiſtân. Buſt, Zemindâwir, and other places fell into his hands; and all the diſtrict which had formerly been annexed to the government of Candahâr, was reduced to ſubjection by his arms.

Ali Murdan rewarded.

The emperor was ſo overjoyed at the recovery of Candahâr, that he received Ali Murdan with every mark of eſteem and gratitude. He was raiſed to the rank of ſix thouſand horſe, with the title of captain-general of the Imperial forces, and inveſted with the government of Caſhmire. The ſervice he had done was great, but the reward of treachery was extravagant. Ali, however, ſeemed to poſſeſs abilities equal to any rank. Bold, provident and ambitious, he graſped at power; and when he had obtained it, he kept it during his life by management and intrigue. His generoſity rendered him popular; and before his death he is ſaid to have numbered ſixteen thouſand families of Afgans, Uſbecs, and Moguls among his clients and dependants.

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Invaſion from Aſſâm.

The moſt remarkable tranſaction of the year 1638, next to the recovery of Candahâr, was an invaſion of the province of Bengal by the Tartars of Aſſâm. They ruſhed down the river Birramputa in armed boats, to where it falls into the Ganges, below Dacca. They plundered ſome of the northern diſtricts, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſmall forts. Iſlam, governor of Bengal, hearing of the invaſion, marched againſt the enemy with all the Imperial troops ſtationed in the province. They had the folly to come to action with the Suba, and he gave them a ſignal defeat. Four thouſand were killed on the ſpot, and five hundred armed veſſels fell into the hands of the conqueror. The remaining part of the invaders fled; and the governor purſued them into their own country. Fifteen forts, with the king of Aſſâm's ſon-in-law, fell into his hands. The whole province of Cochâgi was reduced; and he invaded that of Buldive. The latter was very obſtinately defended. Few paſſes led into it, being environed with mountains. The Suba at laſt forced the paſſes, and the enemy fled to the hills.

Reduction of Aſſâm.

The ſovereign of Buldive did not long ſurvive the reduction of his country. Worn out with fatigue, haraſſed with grief, and tormented with vexation, he was ſeized with a contagious diſtemper, which infected his family, and carried him and them off in a few days. His people, however, would not quit their hills. The enemy ſpread devaſtation over the plain below; and the unfortunate Aſſâmites beheld from the woods, the ſmoke of their burning towns. But the unbounded ravages of Iſlam occaſioned his retreat. The grain was inadvertently deſtroyed in the fire which conſumed the towns of Buldive, and a ſcarcity of proviſions began to be felt in the Imperial camp. Iſlam marched back with the ſpoils of Aſſâm; but he ſuffered incredible hardſhips from the badneſs of the roads, the torrents which fell from the hills, and a diſtemper, which the rainy ſeaſon, now come on, had raiſed in the

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army. The kingdom of Tibet was, at the ſame time, reduced by Ziffer. The news of this double conqueſt came at the ſame inſtant to the emperor. He was greatly pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his arms, as none of the Mahommedan princes, who had reigned before him in India, ever penetrated into thoſe countries.

Death of the Mah-Raja.

The eleventh year of the reign of Shaw Jehân commenced with the death of the Mah-Raja, prince of the Rajaputs. He was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſecond ſon Huſſinet Singh; it being the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the branch of the Rajaputs called Mahrattors, to leave the ſceptre to the diſpoſal of the ſovereigns by their latter will. The Rajaputs, properly ſo called, did not acquieſce in the right of Huſſinet. He had an elder brother, and they adhered to him. The flames of a civil war were kindled; but the emperor interfered; and, after having examined the claims of both the princes, he confirmed the Raja's will in favour of Huſſinet, whom he raiſed to the rank of four thouſand horſe. His elder brother, who was deprived of all hopes of the throne by the deciſion of the emperor, was alſo created an Omrah of three thouſand.

Peace with Perſia.

The inſult which Perſia received through the invaſion of its territories by the Mogul governor of Candahâr, did not raiſe any ſpirit of revenge in the court of Iſpahan. The debility in the councils of Sefi brought on a peace between the empires. Shaw Jehân had diſpatched Sifder Chan his ambaſſador to the court of Perſia. That lord returned this year from Serifa, where Sefi reſided, with a preſent of five hundred horſes, ſome curious animals, and various manufactures of Perſia, to the value of five lacks of roupees. Sifder executed his commiſſion ſo much to his maſter's ſatisfaction, that he was raiſed to the dignity of five thouſand horſe. The chief condition of the treaty of peace between Perſia and

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Hindoſtan was, an entire ceſſion of Candahâr by the former in favour of the latter.

Death of Afzil, the emperor's preceptor.

The winter of the year 1637 had been remarkable for a great fall of ſnow in the northern provinces of India. It extended as far as Lahore; and in the mountains of Cabul and Caſhmire, many villages, with all their inhabitants, were overwhelmed and deſtroyed. The emperor, in the mean time, kept his court at Lahore. Peace being eſtabliſhed on every ſide, he applied himſelf to the management of the civil government of the empire. He iſſued many ſalutary edicts for the ſecurity of property, the improvement of the country, and the encouragement of commerce. In the midſt of his cares for the good of the ſtate, he was afflicted with the death of Afzil Chan, a man of great literary talents, who had been his preceptor. The young princes were alſo educated under his care, and they mourned him as a father. He had been raiſed to the firſt honours of the empire. He obtained the rank of ſeven thouſand, and the management of the civil affairs of the empire were in a great meaſure in his hands. The emperor, to ſhow his great veneration for his abilities, allowed him an annual revenue of three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds.

Dara and Suja promoted.

Soon after the death of Afzil, the princes Dara and Suja were raiſed to higher ranks of nobility. Dara was dignified with the title of an Omrah of ten thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot; and Suja with the rank of ſeven thouſand horſe and as many of foot. The emperor having frequently declared his intentions of leaving the throne to Dara, gave him always the firſt place in dignities and power. He ſhewed an inclination of habituating his other ſons to a ſubmiſſion to Dara; and whatever marks of ſuperior affection he might beſtow on his younger ſons in private, in public he directed his principal attention to the eldeſt. Aurung-

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zêbe was not at court when his brothers were promoted. Averſe to idleneſs in his command of the army in the Decan, he made an incurſion, under pretence of injuries, into the country of Baglana. The forts fell into his hands, and the chiefs ſubmitted to a tribute; but the ſterility and poverty of thoſe regions did neither anſwer the expence of the war, nor that of keeping the poſſeſſion of the conquered country. He therefore evacuated the places which he had taken, and depended for the tribute on the future fears of the enemy. Having brought back the army within the limits of the empire, Aurungzêbe, who was jealous of the influence of Dara with the emperor, requeſted leave of abſence, and came to Lahore, where his father at the time reſided.

Suja made governor of Bengal.

The prince Suja, who had been ſent with an army to Cabul, when a war with Perſia was apprehended, had for ſome time remained in that city. His wife dying, he returned on the twenty-third of June 1638 to Lahore, where he was married with great pomp and ſolemnity to the daughter of Azim. Complaints having been ſent to court againſt Iſlam, governor of Bengal, he was removed from his office; and Suja was ordered to proceed, with a commiſſion, into that kingdom, to reſtore the civil regulations which had been ruined by the rapacity of Iſlam. Abdalla, governor of Behâr, had alſo fallen under the emperor's diſpleaſure for ſome oppreſſions which he had exerciſed in the execution of juſtice. Shaw Jehân, who was a ſevere juſticiary, would not even have his repreſentatives in the provinces ſuſpected of partiality in the diſtribution of the laws. He heard the complaints of the pooreſt ſubjects, from the moſt diſtant corners of the empire, and the influence of the firſt men in the ſtate was not ſufficient to protect the delinquents from his reſentment. He was, therefore, beloved by the people, and reverenced and feared by the great. An Imperial order was iſſued to Abdalla to appear in

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the preſence, to give a public account of his adminiſtration; and Shaiſta, the ſon of the viſier, was raiſed to the government of Behâr. Abdalla had the good fortune to clear himſelf of the aſperſions thrown on his character by his enemies; and he was ſent, with a conſiderable force, againſt inſurgents in the province of Bundela, and ſome Rajas, who, from their hills, made depredatory incurſions into Behâr.

Excellent government of the emperor.

Abdalla no ſooner arrived in the place of his deſtination than peace was reſtored. The banditti who infeſted the country, fled precipitately to their mountains, and diſperſed themſelves to their ſeveral homes. Some examples of juſtice upon thoſe who fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts, confirmed the tranquillity which now was general over all the empire. The attention of the emperor to the improvement of his dominions, his impartial execution of juſtice, his exact but not oppreſſive mode of collecting the revenues, rendered his people happy and his empire flouriſhing. A lover of pleaſure himſelf, though not fond of parade and ſhew, his haram was a conſiderable market for the fineſt manufactures; and the ample proviſion made for his ſons and nobles, rendered his capital a cluſter of princely courts, where magnificence and elegant luxury prevailed in the extreme. He divided his time between the hall of audience and the haram. He heard complaints with patience; he decided with preciſion and equity; and when his mind was fatigued with buſineſs, he dived into the elegant and ſecret apartments of his women; who, being the natives of different countries, preſented to his eyes a variety of charms.

The capital of Bengal deſtroyed by fire.

Suja, to whom a ſon was born ſoon after his arrival in Bengal, narrowly eſcaped with his life, from a fire which broke out in the capital of the province. Many of his ſervants, and ſome of

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of his women were deſtroyed in the flames; and the whole city was burnt down to the ground. Rajamâhil never recovered from this diſaſter. The waters of the Ganges joined iſſue with the flames in its deſtruction. The ground on which it ſtood was carried away by the river; and nothing now remains of its former magnificence, except ſome wells, which, as the earth in which they were ſunk has been carried away by the ſtream, appear like ſpires in the channel of the river, when its waters are low.

Ali Murdan promoted.

Ali Murdan, who, for the delivery of Candahâr to the emperor, had been gratified with the government of Caſhmire, returned to court at Lahore on the eighteenth of October. No complaints againſt his adminiſtration having been preferred in the hall of audience, he was received with diſtinction and favour. To reward him for the equity and juſtice of his government, he was raiſed to the government of Punjâb; with a power of holding Caſhmire by deputy. Ali Murdan took immediate poſſeſſion of his new office; and the emperor ſignified to his ſon Aurungzêbe, that his preſence in the Decan was neceſſary, to ſuperintend the affairs of his government, which, in the hands of deputies, might fall into confuſion, from the diſtance of the conquered provinces from the ſeat of empire.

Return of the ambaſſador to the Ottoman emperor.

When Aurungzêbe ſet out for the Decan, the emperor, reſolving upon a tour to Caſhmire, moved the Imperial camp northward from Lahore. Whilſt he amuſed himſelf in that beautiful country, Mahommed Zerif, whom he had ſome time before ſent ambaſſador to Conſtantinople, returned to court. Morâd, who at that time held the Ottoman ſcepter, had received Zerif with every mark of reſpect and eſteem. The empires having no political buſineſs to ſettle, the embaſſy was chiefly an affair of compliment; with a requeſt to permit Zeriff to purchaſe ſome fine horſes

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in Arabia. Morâd not only granted the required favour, but even gave to the ambaſſador ſeveral horſes of the higheſt blood, with furniture of ſolid gold, ſtudded with precious ſtones, as a preſent to Shaw Jehân. The emperor was highly pleaſed with the reception given to his ambaſſador; and he was charmed with the beauty of the horſes. On the ſeventeenth of February 1640, he ſet out for Lahore, the buſineſs of the empire requiring his preſence nearer its center.

Calamitous floods.

When he was upon the road, a prodigious fall of rain laid the whole country under water. No dry ſpot was left for pitching the Imperial tent; and he was obliged to ſleep for ſeveral nights in a boat. His army were in the mean time in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Their horſes without provender; and they themſelves deſtitute of proviſions. Four thouſand families were ſwept away and drowned by the river Bêhat. On the banks of the Choſhal the deſtruction was greater ſtill. Seven hundred villages were carried away, with their inhabitants; and every day brought freſh accounts of diſaſters from other parts of the country, through which the branches of the Indus flow. When the waters began to ſubſide, the emperor haſtened his march. The ſcene which preſented itſelf to his eyes as he advanced, was full of horror. Boats were ſeen ſticking in the tops of trees; the fiſh were gaſping on dry land, the bodies of men and animals were mixed with the wreck of villages, and mud and ſand covered the whole face of the country. He was ſo much affected with the miſery of his ſubjects, that he iſſued an edict for the remiſſion of the taxes for a year, to the countries which had ſuffered by that dreadful calamity. He alſo made donations from the public treaſury to many of the farmers, to enable them to maintain their families; and, continuing his journey, arrived on the firſt of April at Lahore.

During

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Buſt ſurpriſed and retaken.

During theſe diſaſters on the banks of the Indus, Buſt was ſurpriſed by the Perſian governor of the province of Seïſtân. Gulzâr, who commanded for the empire in Candahâr, detached a part of the garriſon under his lieutenant Leitif Chan, to retake the place. He ſummoned Buſt upon his arrival, but the Perſians refuſed to ſurrender. He began his approaches; and, after a ſmart ſiege, in which his vigilance, activity, and courage did him great honour, he took Buſt. The garriſon were made priſoners; and Leitif, purſuing the advantage which he had obtained, made incurſions into Seïſtan, and carried off great booty, with which he returned to Candahâr. The debility of the councils of Perſia ſuffered this affront to paſs without revenge.

An ambaſſador from Conſtantinople.

In the ſummer of the year 1640, Arſelan Aga, who had accompanied Zerif from Conſtantinople, as ambaſſador from Morâd, had his audience of leave of the emperor. He was preſented with twelve thouſand pounds for the expences of his journey home; and he was charged with magnificent preſents for his maſter. News at the ſame time arrived at court, that the oppreſſions committed by Azim, governor of Guzerat, had occaſioned an inſurrection; at the head of which, the two chiefs, Jami and Bahara, appeared. Azim, poſſeſſed of an immenſe revenue, ſoon raiſed a force, which, in the end, reduced the inſurgents; but all the money, which ought to have been remitted to the treaſury, was expended in the war. The emperor was enraged at his conduct. He deprived him of his government; and ordered him to repair to court, to give an account of his adminiſtration. His friends interceded in his behalf. The emperor was inflexible; till a fair couſin of Azim, who was retained in the Imperial haram, threw herſelf at his feet, and not only obtained the pardon of the governor, but even his reinſtatement in his former office. After he had

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paſſed his word in favour of Azim to this weeping beauty, he commanded her never more to appear in his preſence: "For," ſaid he, "I will not have my juſtice perverted by my weakneſs."

The prince Morâd diſtinguiſhes himſelf.

Morâd, the fourth ſon of the emperor, was now in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Like his brothers he was high-ſpirited and a lover of war. An opportunity offered which ſuited his diſpoſition. Jagenât Singh, a prince on the confines of Marwâr, who was a ſubject of the empire, revolted, and iſſuing from his native mountains, ſpread devaſtation through the neighbouring plains. The active ſpirit of Morâd flew before him. He outſtripped the news of his coming by his expedition; ſurpriſed, defeated, and purſued the prince to his fort of Tara Cudda, in which, after a ſmart ſiege, he was taken; but pardoned, upon conditions. The emperor was pleaſed with the vigour which he diſcovered in the ſoul of Morâd; and he received him upon his return with great diſtinction and affection.

Death of the viſier.

The death of the viſier Aſiph Jâh, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, was the moſt remarkable event of the ſucceeding year. His daughter Moina Bânu, the ſiſter of the favourite Sultana, and wife of Seif Chan, the high-ſteward of the houſehold, died a ſhort time before her father: and his grief for her, as he was worn-out with buſineſs, infirmities, and age, ſeems to have haſtened his death, which happened on the twentieth of November. He was born in Tartary, many years before his father Aiâſs quitted that country to puſh his fortune in Hindoſtan; and he did not leave the place of his nativity, till the affairs of his father aſſumed a very favourable aſpect in the court of the emperor Akbâr. The merit of Aiâſs raiſed himſelf to the firſt offices of the ſtate; and his ſon was not of a diſpoſition to relinquiſh the advantages which his family had gained. Habituated to buſineſs

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under his father, he ſucceeded him in the office of viſier, and managed the affairs of the empire with great addreſs during the remaining part of the reign of Jehangire. The active part which he took to ſecure the empire for Shaw Jehân, met with every return of gratitude from that prince; who, ſoon after his acceſſion, raiſed him to an office ſuperior in dignity to that of viſier, called Vakiel Mutuluck; or abſolute miniſter of the empire. The emperor, who had the ſincereſt affection for his daughter, the mother of ſo many princes and princeſſes, diſtinguiſhed Aſiph in his converſation with the title of Father. He dignified that miniſter at the ſame time with many pompous titles. In public deeds he was ſtyled, The Strength of the Realm, the Protector of the Empire, the Powerful Prince, the Lord of Lords, the revered Father of Wiſdom, the Leader of Armies, in rank great as ASIPH, and a Lion in War.

He leaves his fortune to prince Dara.

Though three ſons and five daughters ſurvived the viſier, he adopted his grandſon Dara, the Imperial prince, and conſtituted him heir to all his fortune. He excuſed himſelf to his ſons, by ſaying, that he had already raiſed them to high ranks and employments in the ſtate; and that, if they conducted themſelves with prudence and wiſdom, the favour of the emperor would be to them an ample fortune. "But, ſhould Folly be the ruler of your conduct," continued Aſiph, "you do not deſerve to poſſeſs the wealth which I have acquired by my ſervices." There was prudence in the conduct of Aſiph upon this occaſion. The emperor loved money; and he might have availed himſelf of the law, which conſtitutes the prince the heir of all his officers; and a diſpute of that kind might prove fatal to the influence and intereſt of the family of the viſier. He, however, divided, before his death, three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds among his children and ſervants. Dara, in terms of his will, took poſſeſſion

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of the bulk of his fortune, which in coin, in jewels, in plate, elephants and horſes, amounted to near four millions ſterling, excluſive of his eſtates in land, which, according to the tenures in India, reverted to the crown.

His character.

Though the abilities of Aſiph Jâh were little known under the wiſe and able adminiſtration of his father, they broke forth with luſtre when he himſelf came into the firſt office in the ſtate. He was a great orator, a fine writer, an able politician. In his private character, he was mild, affable, humane, generous; in his public, ſevere, reſerved, inflexible, exact. He never excuſed negligence; he puniſhed diſobedience. His orders, therefore, were no ſooner iſſued than they were executed; his very nod was reſpected, underſtood, and obeyed. He was poſſeſſed of political as well as perſonal courage; as little afraid of the unjuſt reproaches of his friends, as he was of the weapons of his enemies; and he was often heard to ſay, "That he who fears death is unworthy of life." He was uniform in his conduct, impartial and dignified in his actions, conſiſtent with himſelf. He courted not popularity by his meaſures: juſtice, propriety, and the ultimate good of the ſtate, and not the applauſe of the vulgar, were his objects in all his deciſions. He was fit for the field, as well as adapted for the cabinet; and had he not gained renown with the pen, he would have commanded it with the ſword. In his youth, he was addicted to poetry. He wrote upon heroic ſubjects; and the fire of his genius was ſuch, that the very ſound of his verſe animates the ſoul to war. The glory and happineſs of India during his long adminiſtration were great; and when war raged on the frontiers, the interior provinces enjoyed uninterrupted peace. The field in which he moved was extenſive, but his eye comprehended the whole. An eaſtern writer continues the metaphor, and ſays, "That he rendered that field flouriſhing and fruitful. He paſſed through it with reputation and luſtre, and when he ſunk into the grave, a cloud of ſorrow obſcured the face of the empire."

His ſons.

The original name of the eldeſt ſon of Aſiph was Mirza Morâd. He was dignified afterwards with the title of Shaiſta Chan; and he was governor of Behâr at the death of his father. He poſſeſſed not the abilities of his family; being of an infirm and ſickly conſtitution, with a delicate, rather than a vigorous and active mind. Mirza Miſti, the ſecond ſon of Aſiph, was a youth of great hopes; vigorous, active, and full of fire. He loſt his life in a drunken frolic; for being one day at the river Behât in Caſhmire, when it foamed over its banks, he ſpurred his horſe into the ſtream, by way of bravado, and, for his temerity, was drowned. Mirza Huſſein, the third ſon of the viſier, was a man of moderate abilities; and his fourth ſon, who had been dignified with the title of Shaw Nawâz, was a nobleman of great reputation and high diſtinction in the empire.

Juſtice of the emperor.

The emperor, jealous of the influence which the governors of the provinces might acquire by a long continuance in their offices, made a practice of removing them every third year. When the news of any oppreſſion committed by them arrived at court, they were inſtantly ſuperſeded; and, upon examination, if found guilty, diveſted of all their honours, and confined. The puniſhment of death ſeemed to have been laid aſide from the commencement of this reign. Tirbiet Chan was, this year, ordered back from the government of Cabul, for his ſeverity in exacting the revenue from the poor. The emperor himſelf had been a witneſs of the miſerable condition to which the people of that province were reduced, by the floods in the rivers Choſhal and Behât; and they had not yet recovered from that grievous calamity. They were unable to pay their rents; and Tirbiet ſubmitted them

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to the rigours of military execution. He was diveſted of his honours as well as of his government; and the emperor iſſued money from the treaſury to relieve thirty thouſand of the inhabitants, whom the exactions of Tirbiet had reduced to want: "Remember," ſaid the emperor to his nobles, "that when you are too ſevere on my people, you only injure me; for it is but juſt I ſhould pay for loſſes occaſioned by my wrong choice of officers, to govern the provinces of my empire." Ali Murdan was appointed to the government of Cabul, in the room of Tirbiet. He was ſucceeded in that of Caſhmire, by Ziffer. Complaints had been received againſt the prince Aurungzêbe from the Decan. His father ordered him to the preſence, to anſwer to the charge; which he did to ſatisfaction, and was forthwith reinſtated in his government.

Perſian invaſion threatened.

The cruelty of Shaw Sefi of Perſia had crowded hitherto his reign with tumult and misfortune. The empire ſuffered in its conſequence with foreign powers, during years which Sefi diſtinguiſhed only with the blood of his ſubjects. His intentions againſt Ali Murdan loſt him the ſtrong fortreſs of Candahâr, and he took no meaſures to revenge the inſults which he received on his frontiers, after that place had fallen into the hands of the Moguls. The tumults of the Perſians were at length quelled in their blood; and Sefi, having deſtroyed his domeſtic enemies, turned his attention to his foreign foes. Having collected a great army, he took the field, and moved toward Candahâr with a profeſſed deſign to retake that city.

Prevented by the death of Shaw Sefi.

The news of the motions of the Perſian was brought by expreſs to the court of Agra. The emperor was alarmed. He gave a commiſſion to the Imperial prince Dara, to command an army of fifty thouſand men. The troops were ſoon ready, and the prince took the route of Cabul. Thirty thouſand men, ſtationed on the frontiers, flocked alſo to the ſtandard of Dara, upon his arrival at Cabul. Morâd, the emperor's fourth ſon, was poſted with twenty thouſand men behind the Nilâb, with orders to reinforce, in caſe of a requiſition for that purpoſe, the army of Dara. But theſe formidable preparations were, in the event, unneceſſary. Sefi, to the great joy of his ſubjects, fell ſick and died. The war, which was begun by him, was dropt, with his other meaſures, by his ſucceſſor. The Perſians retreated; and Dara and Morâd returned to their father, who ſtill kept his court at Lahore. Morâd, ſoon after his return to the preſence, married a daughter of Shaw Nawâz, the ſon of the late viſier Aſiph.

Affairs at court.

The emperor, who took pleaſure in managing in perſon the affairs of his empire, created no viſier upon the death of Aſiph. That lord's deputy in office, without any rank or title, managed the buſineſs of the department, and by a ſpecial commiſſion, counterſigned all public edicts. Aliverdi, governor of Punjâb, who reſided at Lahore, which had formerly been the capital of his government, had the imprudence to ſpeak contemptuouſly of this mode of tranſacting the public buſineſs. He ſaid, That the emperor, from extreme avarice, endeavouring to ſave to himſelf the uſual appointments beſtowed on viſiers, had thrown diſgrace upon his own adminiſtration. He made no ſecret of his ſarcaſms; and they were carried to Shaw Jehân. He ſent for Aliverdi, and ſaid to that lord: "You do not like, I am told, my mode of governing my ſubjects; and therefore Aliverdi ſhall not aſſiſt in an adminiſtration which he does not love." He was immediately diveſted of his government and honours, and diſmiſſed with ignominy from the preſence. The prince Morâd was raiſed to the vacant government; and, having received magnificent preſents from the emperor, ſet out for Moultân. The emperor, in the mean time,

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time, aſſiſted at a grand feſtival, which he gave to his court upon opening the new gardens of Shalimâr, which had been begun in the fourth year of his reign. The gardens were laid out with admirable taſte ; and the money expended upon them amounted to the enormous ſum of one million ſterling.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. IV.

Reflections—Emperor arrives at Agra—Incidents at court—Incurſions of the Uſbecs—Aurungzêbe removed from the Decan—Sadulla Chan made viſier—Buduchſhân invaded by the Moguls—Death and character of Noor Jehân—Balick reduced—Prince Morâd diſgraced—Aurungzêbe defeats the Uſbecs—Who ſubmit to the empire—Emperor jealous of his ſons—Arrival at Delhi—Perſians take Candahâr—Aurungzêbe beſieges it in vain—Defeats the Perſians—Uſbecs of Balick claim the Emperor's aid—Candahâr again beſieged to no purpoſe Emperor returns to Agra—Promotions.

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Reflections.

IN abſolute governments, the Deſpot is every thing, and the people nothing. HE is the only object of attention; and when he ſits in the midſt of tranquillity, the page of the hiſtorian languiſhes in the detail of unimportant events. His hall of audience is a court of ſummary juſtice. His deciſions are rapid; and they are generally impartial, as his ſituation has placed him beyond the limits of fear and of favour. But there is a ſameneſs which never pleaſes, in the tranſactions of a government whoſe operations run through one unchangeable channel; and it is for this reaſon only, we paſs lightly over the more peaceable years of the reign of Shaw Jehân. In theſe he acted in the character of a judge, a mere determinator, if the word may be uſed, of

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differences between individuals; and it muſt be confeſſed, that he had abilities to ſee, and integrity to do what was right.

Emperor arrives at Agra.

Lahore, during the former reign, had been conſidered as the capital of the empire, and the moſt ſettled reſidence of the prince. Jehangire, whoſe lungs were weak, wiſhed to breathe in the free air of the north; and the improvements which he made in the palace and gardens, had rendered Lahore the moſt convenient and beautiful, if not the moſt magnificent of the Imperial reſidences. Shaw Jehân, however, whoſe attention to the affairs of the empire was always uppermoſt in his mind, thought Lahore too diſtant from the ſouthern provinces; which, on account of their wealth, were the moſt important diviſion of his dominions. He therefore reſolved, as there was a proſpect of permanent tranquillity on the northern frontier, to remove his court to Agra, where he arrived in the month of November. The cavalcade which attended his progreſs, was magnificent and numerous beyond deſcription. The armies returned from the north were in his train; and half the citizens of Lahore, who, from his long reſidence in that place, were become in a manner his domeſtics, accompanied him on his march. He pitched his tents in the gardens of his favourite wife, Mumtâza Zemâni. The tomb of that princeſs was now finiſhed at a great expence; and he endowed with lands a monaſtery of Fakiers, whoſe buſineſs it was to take care of the tomb, and to keep up the perpetual lamps over her ſhrine.

Applies to the public buſineſs.

Nothing material happened during nine months after the emperor's arrival at Agra. The public buſineſs, which had been neglected through the alarm of the Perſian war, took up a part of his time; and pleaſure appropriated to itſelf the reſt. Several beautiful acquiſitions had been made in the haram; and the

emperor's

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emperor's attention to the execution of juſtice was interrupted by his love for women. A ſon was in the mean time born to Dara, the Imperial prince. Shaw Jehân, who loved his ſon, gave a magnificent feſtival upon the occaſion. His poſterity began to multiply apace. A ſon was born to Aurungzêbe, whom he named Mahommed Mauzim; and Morâd had this year a daughter whom he called Zêbe-ul-Niſſa, or, The Ornament of Women. The emperor, in the courſe of the year, made an excurſion to Ajmere; and after he returned to Agra, Dara was ſeized with a violent fever, which endangered his life.

An accident.

The emperor's alarm for Dara was ſcarce ſubſided, when a dreadful accident happened to his eldeſt daughter, whom he loved above all his children. Returning one night from viſiting her father to her own apartments in the haram, ſhe unfortunately bruſhed with her clothes one of the lamps which ſtood in the paſſage. Her clothes caught fire; and, as her modeſty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for aſſiſtance, ſhe was ſcorched in a terrible manner. She ruſhed into the haram in flames; and there were no hopes of her life. The emperor was much afflicted. He gave no audience for ſeveral days. He diſtributed alms to the poor; he opened the doors of priſons; and he, for once, became devout, to bribe Heaven for the recovery of his favourite child. He, however, did not in the mean time neglect the common means. Anit-Alla, the moſt famous phyſician of the age, was brought expreſs from Lahore; and the Sultana, though by ſlow degrees, was reſtored to health.

Raſhneſs: death of mar S.

The princeſs had ſcarce recovered, when the emperor himſelf eſcaped from imminent danger. The brother of the Maraja, whoſe name was Amar Singh, having rebelled againſt the deci-

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ſion of Shaw Jehân in favour of his father's will, was defeated by a detachment of the Imperial army, and ſent priſoner to court. When he was brought into the emperor's preſence, he was forced, by the lords in waiting, to make the uſual ſubmiſſions, and the emperor pronounced his pardon from the throne; deſiring him at the ſame time to take his place among the lords, in the rank which had been conferred upon him on a former occaſion. He accordingly took his place; but being a young man of a proud and ungovernable ſpirit, he burnt with rage at the late indignity, as well as at the paſt injury done him by the emperor, in preferring to him his younger brother. He drew his dagger in ſecret; and ruſhed furiouſly toward the throne. Sillabut Chan, the paymaſter-general of the forces, threw himſelf before Amar, who plunged his dagger in his body, and ſtretched him dead at his feet. Chilulla, Seid Sallâr, and ſeveral other lords drew immediately their ſwords, and ſlew the Hindoo prince on the ſpot. The emperor, who had deſcended from his throne with his ſword in his hand, ordered the body to be dragged out of the hall of audience. A number of his followers, ſeeing their maſter dead, fell upon the guards, and fought till they were cut off to a man.

Incurſions of the Uſbecs.

The Uſbecs, who had for a long time remained quiet, made an incurſion this year into the territories of the empire. They were led by Kuli the general of Mahommed, king of the Weſtern Uſbecs. Ali Murdan, governor of Cabul, marched out and defeated the invaders. He followed his victory, and driving the fugitives beyond the limits of the empire, ravaged their country as far as Balick, and returned with a conſiderable booty. The news of the victory arrived at Agra, on the day that another ſon was born to Dara the Imperial prince. The emperor expreſſed his ſatisfaction on this double occaſion of joy, by reſtoring Abdalla, his own former friend, to the dignities of which he had

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been deprived, on account of his miſmanagements in the government of the province of Behâr. Abdalla, however, did not long enjoy the good change in his fortune. He died in the eightieth year of his age, having been ſixty years a noble of the empire. At the time of his death, he was poſſeſſed of the dignity of ſix thouſand horſe. He had paſſed through all the various viciſſitudes of fortune. He was engaged in every war, and was unſucceſsful in all; yet he was eſteemed an able and active general.

Aurungzêbe removed from the Decan.

Dara, by his conſtant reſidence with his father, had gained an aſcendency over his mind. The prince was free, generous and manly; pleaſing in converſation, affable, polite and mild. The emperor loved him as a friend, as well as a ſon: he liſtened to his advice and ſtudied to pleaſe him. He repreſented to his father, that it was dangerous to the repoſe of the empire to leave ſo long the management of the Decan in the hands of Aurungzêbe. "I truſt," ſays he, "to my brother's honour; but why ſhould the happineſs of the emperor depend upon the honour of any man? Aurungzêbe poſſeſſes abilities; and his manner, and perhaps his integrity, has gained him many friends. They, in their ambition, may perſuade him to things which, without their advice, he would abhor. The army he commands are, by habit, accuſtomed to perform his pleaſure, and are attached to his perſon. What if they ſhould prefer the ſpoils of the empire, to their watchful campaigns on our frontiers? Are the troops, debauched by the looſe manners of the capital, fit to cope with men inured to arms? To foreſee danger is to no purpoſe," continued Dara, "unleſs it is prevented. It is my part to adviſe my father and ſovereign; his to do what he pleaſes: but to remove Aurungzêbe from the government of the Decan, is to remove temptation from that prince. If he is that devout man he pretends to

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be, he will thank Heaven for being deprived of the means of committing crimes."

Reflections of the emperor.

The emperor was ſenſible of the juſtice of Dara's obſervations; and he complied with his requeſt. He was naturally fond of his children: he liked their ſpirit, and loved their aſpiring genius. He was, however, too prudent not to foreſee the diſturbances which were likely to riſe from even their good qualities. His affection, when they were young, prevented him from following the policy of other Deſpots, by ſhutting up every acceſs of knowledge from their minds: and to keep them at court after they had commanded armies and provinces, would be a perpetual ſource of animoſity between them, and of uneaſineſs to himſelf. He was heard often to ſay; "I have the ſons I wiſh; yet I wiſh I had no ſons." But hitherto he had no juſt reaſon to complain: they kept on apparent good terms with one another, and they implicitly obeyed his commands.

Aurungzêbe ſent into Guzerat.

Orders were ſent to Aurungzêbe to remove to Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat, where he ſhould find a commiſſion to govern that province. The prince obeyed; and Chan Dowran, who had lately been governor of Caſhmire, was advanced to the ſuperintendency of the conquered provinces, and to the command of the troops ſtationed on the ſouthern frontiers of the empire. Dowran did not live to enjoy his high office, being aſſaſſinated by one of his domeſtics, whom he had puniſhed for ſome crime. Sixty lacks of roupees, or about ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of our money, were found in coin and jewels in his tent. The emperor was his heir, as he had amaſſed his fortune in his ſervice. He had been governor of ſeveral provinces; and he poſſeſſed the rank of ſeven thouſand horſe in the empire. When the news of his death came to court, Iſlam Chan was appointed his ſucceſſor; and that lord ſet out for his government, in the month of Auguſt of the year 1645.

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Sadulla made viſier.

The emperor, it has been already obſerved, did not appoint any ſucceſſor to Aſiph Jâh in the high office of viſier. Sadulla, the chief ſecretary of Aſiph, who was acquainted with the buſineſs of the empire, tranſacted the duties of the office without the name. He was a man of abilities. His experience in his department recommended him firſt to the emperor; and when he came to know him better, he eſteemed him for his integrity. He was ſent for one day to the preſence; and the emperor, without previouſly acquainting him of his deſign, delivered to him the ſeals of the empire; and at the ſame time preſented him with a patent, for the dignity of five thouſand horſe.

Ali Murdan invades Buduchſhân.

Whilſt theſe things are tranſacted at court, Ali Murdan, governor of Cabul, continued his incurſions into the dominions of the Uſbecs. He took the fort of Shermud in Buduchſhân, and ſome other ſtrong towns. When the winter came on, he retreated into his province; and took that opportunity of paying his reſpects to the emperor, who, upon his return from a tour to Caſhmire, had ſtopt at Lahore. Shaw Jehân approved of his incurſions, and recommended to him to continue the war. Ali returned to Cabul, and led his army to the north in the beginning of the ſpring. He took the direct road to Balick; but the enemy turning his rear, cut off both his ſupplies and his communication with Hindoſtan. They, at the ſame time, laid waſte their own country, by carrying off or deſtroying the grain and cattle. Ali thought it prudent to retreat; but the Uſbecs had retaken the forts which had, when he advanced, fallen into his hands. He, a ſecond time laid ſiege to Shermud; and, having forced it to ſurrender, he eſtabliſhed poſts along the ſkirts of Buduchſhân,

A. D. 1645, Hig. 1055.

duchſhân, and then returned to Cabul. An ambaſſador, charged with rich preſents, was diſpatched this year to the court of Perſia, to congratulate Shaw Abas the Second, upon his acceſſion to the throne.

Death and character of Noor-Jehân.

The emperor had not been returned to Lahore many days, before the famous Noor-Jehân, the favourite Sultana of his father Jehangire, died in her palace in that city. Twenty-five thouſand pounds had been annually paid to her out of the treaſury; and, as her power ceaſed with the death of her conſort, ſhe was too proud even to ſpeak of public affairs, and ſhe, therefore, gave up her mind to ſtudy, retirement, and eaſe. The extraordinary beauty of her perſon has been already mentioned; we ſhall now delineate the features of her mind. Her abilities were uncommon; for ſhe rendered herſelf abſolute, in a government in which women are thought incapable of bearing any part. Their power, it is true, is ſometimes exerted in the haram; but, like the virtues of the magnet, it is ſilent and unperceived. Noor-Jehân ſtood forth in public; ſhe broke through all reſtraint and cuſtom, and acquired power by her own addreſs, more than by the weakneſs of Jehangire. Ambitious, paſſionate, inſinuating, cunning, bold and vindictive, yet her character was not ſtained with cruelty; and ſhe maintained the reputation of chaſtity, when no reſtraint but virtue remained. Her paſſions were indeed too maſculine. When we ſee her acting the part of a ſoldier, ſhe excites ridicule more than admiration; and we are apt to forget that delicacy, beyond which her ſex ceaſes to pleaſe.

War with the Uſbecs.

The ineffectual expedition of Ali againſt the Uſbecs, did not induce the emperor to relinquiſh the war. He ſet up an antiquated claim, which his anceſtors had on Buduchſhân, and the

A. D. 1646.
Hig. 1056.

the diſtrict of Balich, and moved with a great army toward Cabul, to ſupport his pretenſions. When he arrived in that city, he detached fifty thouſand horſe with a large train of artillery, under the conduct of prince Morâd, to the north. Nidder Mahommed, who had taken Balich and its diſtrict by force from the Uſbecs, ſhut himſelf up in that city, where he was beſieged by Morâd. Mahommed made but a poor defence; for he evacuated the place in a few days. Morâd entered the city in triumph. He protected the inhabitants from being plundered; and detached a party in purſuit of Mahommed. His own army fell, in the mean time, upon Mahommed; and having plundered him of ſixty lacks of roupees, ſeparated, and left him alone. The unfortunate prince had no reſource but to fly his dominions, which were now over-run by the conquerors. He hoped to engage Perſia in his intereſt, and he haſtened to Iſpahan. The prince Morâd, in the mean time, took all his towns and caſtles, at leiſure: there was no enemy in the field, and ſcarce a garriſon within the walls. Having left detachments of his army in the conquered countries, he moved toward the frontiers of the empire; and waited there for orders of recal.

Morâd diſgraced.

The emperor having fixed his mind upon the complete conqueſt of Buduchſhân and Balich, had no intention of withdrawing his army from theſe provinces. Morâd became impatient. He wrote letters to his father. He pretended want of health; he ſaid he diſliked the country; and he earneſtly requeſted leave to return. Shaw Jehân, knowing the real ſtate of his ſon's health, was much offended at his requeſt. He commanded him to remain in the north, to ſettle the country according to the inſtructions given to him, and not to attempt to enter the dominions of Hindoſtan without orders. Morâd having a violent inclination

A. D. 1646.
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to be near the capital, in caſe of his father's death, and preferring the rich and fertile provinces of the ſouth to the ſterile regions of the north, obſtinately diſobeyed the emperor, left the army, and returned to Cabul. His father reſented this undutiful behaviour. He formally diveſted him of the government of Moultân, and of all his dignities, without admitting him into his preſence. He at the ſame iſſued an edict, which baniſhed Morâd to the mountains of Peſhâwir. Sadulla the viſier was ſent to ſettle the affairs of the north.

Prince of the Uſbecs flies to Perſia.

The fugitive prince Mahommed having arrived at Iſpahan, was treated by Shaw Abas with great friendſhip and reſpect. He received at different times four lacks of roupees, for his ſubſiſtence. He, however, could obtain no aid. His applications were counteracted by the ambaſſador of India; and, beſides, the Perſian was not fond of war. The bad ſucceſs of Mahommed ſoured his temper. He ſpoke diſreſpectfully of Shaw Abas and his miniſters. His ſubſiſtence was withdrawn, and he was reduced to great diſtreſs. Sadulla, in the mean time, ſettled the affairs of Balich. In the year 1646 he was recalled to court; and the emperor returned to Lahore. Morâd, in the mean time, wrote letters of contrition to his father. He owned his error, and expreſſed his grief. His friends ſolicited warmly in his favour. He was permitted to come to court; and, by his prudent management, he ſoon regained the affections of his father, who reſtored him to his dignities, and to the government of Moultân.

Uſbecs invade Balich.

When the prince of Balich was deſerted by his own army, and obliged to take refuge in Perſia, his ſon Abdul Azîz, who commanded a body of troops in another part of the province, threw himſelf under the protection of the northern Uſbecs. The petty chieftains beyond the Oxus were induced, by promiſes of

A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

advantage to themſelves, to join his ſmall ſquadron; ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army. He however could not cover his intentions of invading the conquered dominions of his father, from the Mogul garriſon of Balich; who ſent advices of the approaching ſtorm to the emperor. That monarch iſſued orders to his ſon Aurungzêbe to leave Guzerât, and to haſten to take the command of the army in the north. The emperor himſelf marched to Cabul to ſuſtain the operations of his ſon; whilſt Dara commanded another army in the environs of Lahore. Shaw Jehân, upon this occaſion, ſhewed an inſtance of his generoſity. Two of the ſons of the prince of Balich, together with ſome of his wives and daughters, had been taken priſoners in the war. The ſons, he raiſed to the rank of nobles; and the women were treated with the decency and reſpect due to their quality.

Aurungzêbe ſent againſt them.

Aurungzêbe, who was fond of action, poſted with great expedition to Balich. He took the command of the troops upon his arrival; and he was informed that the enemy were, by that time, advanced to within a few miles of the place. He ſurveyed the works, and made temporary repairs; then devolving the command of the garriſon upon Raja Mado Singh, he marched out againſt the Uſbecs with the troops which had flocked in to his ſtandard from the untenable poſts in the province. Bahadur of the Rohilla tribe of Afgans, commanded the vanguard. Ali Murdan was ſtationed on the right wing, and Ziffer on the left. The prince himſelf, after having marſhalled the field, took his poſt in the center. The enemy, ſeeing the good order and firmneſs of the Moguls, declined, for that day, to come to action. They, however, ſkirmiſhed with ſmall parties, whilſt the main body retreated. Night coming on, Aurungzêbe lay on his arms.

A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

He comes to action,

When day-light appeared, the prince formed his line of march, and purſued the Uſbecs. Several detachments of the enemy hovered round, and inſulted him from time to time, whilſt others turned his rear, and began to plunder a part of his baggage: the main body, in the mean time, began to form in his front. The prince detached parties from the line, who drove the flying ſquadrons of the enemy from the field. He then drew up his forces in the ſame order as on the preceding day; but Ziffer, from exerting himſelf too much, was ſeized with a violent fever, and obliged to devolve his command on his ſon. He ſcarce had retired, when Abdul Azîz advanced upon the Imperialiſts with his whole force. Ziffer again mounted his horſe, and when he returned to his poſt, he found his ſon in cloſe engagement with the Uſbecs. The enemy advanced with redoubled violence; but Ziffer, who now had reſumed the command, ſtood his ground with great ſpirit and firmneſs, till he received nine wounds. He fell, with loſs of blood, from his horſe, and two of his ſons covered him from the Uſbecs, and carried him between their horſes to the rear.

defeats

Abdul Azîz, in the mean time, with ten thouſand Tartar horſe, fell in, ſword in hand, with Ali Murdan on the right. The conteſt was fierce and bloody. The Tartars, proud of their native valour, deſpiſed the oppoſition of troops whom they deemed inferior to themſelves; the Imperialiſts being chiefly compoſed of ſoldiers from the north, and better diſciplined than the Tartars to war, ſtood their ground with great firmneſs, and checked the confident bravery of the enemy. Ali exhibited all the qualities of an able general, and valiant ſoldier: he ſometimes encouraged his troops by words, but oftener by example; and finding that the enemy charged in a deep column, he contracted and ſtrengthened his line. The Uſbecs were thrice repulſed; but defeat only rendered them more deſperate. In the fourth charge, the Imperialiſts were thrown into confuſion; but they were rather borne down than defeated. They were on the point of flying; but Aurungzêbe came in to their aid.

the Uſbecs;

The prince had been engaged in the center, where the action had not been ſo hot. Finding how affairs went on the right, he formed into a column, and advanced on full ſpeed on the flank of Abdul Azîz. That chief, however, was ready to receive him. The ſhock was violent and bloody. A mighty ſhout aroſe on either ſide; and men ſeemed to forget they were mortal. The Uſbec was at the laſt overpowered, and driven off the field with great ſlaughter. Aurungzêbe thought himſelf in poſſeſſion of a complete victory; but the battle was not yet over. The enemy took a circuit round the right, where Ali was reſtoring the line of his broken ſquadrons, and fell upon the rear of the Imperialiſts. The vanguard had retired thither after the commencement of the action, and formed a line round the artillery which had been little uſed. Abdul Azîz attacked them with great violence, and drove them from the guns. Bahadur, who commanded the vanguard, rallied them, and ſuſtained the charge till Aurungzêbe came up in full ſpeed from the line. Abdul Azîz was again repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the remains of the Uſbec army quitted the field in diſorder.

and takes their camp.

The prince, after the action was over, advanced and took poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp. It was now dark; and ſuch an impreſſion had the valour of the enemy made upon the Imperialiſts, that even the flight of the vanquiſhed could not convince them of their victory. A panic ſeized the victors; frequent alarms diſturbed the night; and, though fatigued and wearied, they lay ſleepleſs upon their arms. Morning appearing convinced them of their error, and diſcovered to them how much they had done, by

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A. D. 1647. Hig. 1057.

the number of the ſlain. Ten thouſand lay dead on the field. Many officers of diſtinction fell on the Imperial ſide; and Aurungzêbe juſtly acquired great reputation from the fortunate end of ſuch an obſtinate battle.

They are driven from Buduchſhân.

The Uſbecs, under their gallant leader, being fruſtrated in their deſigns on Balich, by the ſignal victory obtained over them, fell upon the province of Buduchſhân. Deſpairing of conquering that province, they laid it waſte, and filled their rout with confuſion, deſolation, and death. Expreſs upon expreſs was ſent to Cabul to the emperor; and he forthwith detached twenty thouſand horſe, under the prince Morâd, to expel the enemy. The Uſbecs, weakened in the late bloody battle with Aurungzêbe, were in no condition to face Morâd. They fled before that prince beyond the limits of the province, and left an undiſturbed conqueſt to the family of Timur.

They ſubmit.

Nidder Mahommed, who left the court of Perſia upon advice of the invaſion under his ſon, received on the way the news of the unfortunate battle, in which all his hopes were blaſted. To contend longer in arms againſt Shaw Jehân was impoſſible: he therefore had recourſe to ſubmiſſion and intreaty. He ſent a letter to Aurungzêbe: "To the emperor," ſaid he, "I dare not write. But you, deſcended from the victorious line of ſovereigns, who ſupport, with your ſword, their title to command the world, may find an opportunity of preſenting the requeſt of Mahommed among thoſe of his meaneſt ſubjects; and he who confers happineſs on mankind, will relent at the misfortunes of an exiled prince. Inform him, that Nidder Mahommed wiſhes to be numbered among the ſervants of the King of Kings, and waits melancholy on the ſkirts of his dominions to receive his anſwer." Aurungzêbe ſent the letter to his father. The emperor, moved by

A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

prudence as much as by pity for Mahommed, ordered his ſon to reinſtate that prince in his ſovereignty over his former dominions. It was difficult to defend ſuch a diſtant frontier againſt the incurſions of the Uſbecs beyond the Oxus; and he made a merit of his policy, by reſtoring the provinces of Balich and Buduchſhân to Mahommed, upon condition of receiving a ſmall annual tribute. That prince being ſick, ſent his grandſon Chuſero to Aurungzêbe to ſign the terms of this pacification.

Emperor returns to Lahore.

The emperor, in the month of April of the year 1647, returned to Lahore; and Aurungzêbe, after the treaty was ſigned and ratified, joined his father in that city. He was appointed to the government of Moultân, to which province he went, after remaining a very few days at court. The prince Suja was, at the ſame time, ſent to command in the province of Cabul, to watch the motions of the Tartars on the northern frontier. The war with the Uſbecs was undertaken through wantonneſs; and ended, though ſucceſsful, with loſs to the empire. Six millions were expended upon it out of the Imperial treaſury, beſides eſtates granted to the nobility to the value of one million more. The emperor had a puff of reputation for this enormous ſum.

Jealous of his ſons.

Shaw Jehân, who became jealous of the abilities and ambition of his ſons, repented ſincerely of having raiſed them to the firſt offices of the ſtate, and to the government of the richeſt provinces of the empire. They had hitherto maintained a ſhew of implicit obedience; but the nation looked up to their power and conſequence, and ſeemed apparently to divide themſelves into parties in their favour. To prevent them from taking a ſtronger hold of the affections of the people, he removed them from one province to another, to prevent an increaſe in their popularity, and to inure

A. D. 1648. Hig. 1058.

them to obedience. In the midſt of this policy, the complying weakneſs of the father prevailed over the prudence of the monarch. None of his ſons liked the northern provinces. They ſuited not with their pride, and they were not fit for their ambition. They were deſtitute of treaſure to acquire dependants: they abounded not in lucrative employments to gratify friends. Morâd, by an act of diſobedience, had quitted the north: Aurungzêbe, by his addreſs, was permitted to leave it; and Suja, by his friends at court, wrought ſo much upon the emperor, that he was removed from Cabul to the government of Bengal.

Reſides at Delhi.

The emperor, ever fond of feſtivals, found an opportunity of exhibiting his generoſity and hoſpitality, upon finiſhing the repairs of the city of Delhi. Seven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds had been laid out on the Imperial palace; in which the emperor mounted the throne of his anceſtors, on the firſt of April of the year 1648. The nobility paid their compliments with magnificent preſents; and their ladies waited with gifts of value, upon the moſt favoured of the emperor's wives. During nine days, the whole city, as well as the court, were entertained at the public expence. Magnificent dreſſes were diſtributed among the great officers; and ſeveral new Omrahs, among whom were the two ſons of prince Dara, were created. Hamid, one of the diſciples of the great Abul Fazil, preſented, upon the occaſion, to the emperor, a hiſtory of the firſt ten years of his reign, and received a princely preſent.

Promotions.

The emperor remained at Delhi nine months, and returned to Lahore in the end of December the ſame year. Soon after his arrival in that latter city, he raiſed the viſier to the rank of ſeven thouſand; and gratified him, at the ſame time, with the government of Behâr, which he was permitted to hold by deputy.

A. D. 1649.
Hig. 1059.

The abilities of this lord in his high deportment, and, above all, his unintriguing diſpoſition, if the expreſſion may be uſed, recommended him in the higheſt degree to his maſter. He never ſought a favour of the emperor; and he conferred none without his permiſſion. His aſſiduity to pleaſe conſiſted in his undeviating attention to buſineſs; and he gained the affections of his prince, by making him believe, that he was the ſole ſpring which moved all the affairs of his own empire. The vanity of Shaw Jehân induced him to wiſh that every thing were done by himſelf; and the prudent viſier did not, by his obvious interference, deprive him of the reputation which he ſtrove to maintain. On the ſame day that Sadulla was promoted to the government of Behâr, the prince Morâd was raiſed to that of the Decan. The emperor, though fond of his ſon, diſtruſted his natural impetuoſity and fire: he therefore committed the charge of the army on the frontiers to Shaw Nawâz, the father-in-law of Morâd himſelf. Without the conſent of this lord, Morâd was not to attempt any thing of material concern to the empire.

Perſians take Candahâr.

Though the Imperial ambaſſador, who had been ſent to congratulate Shaw Abâs the Second on his acceſſion to the throne, had been well received at Iſpahan, the court of Perſia had not relinquiſhed their pretenſions to the city of Candahâr. The arrangements neceſſary to reſtore the kingdom to order, after the tyranny of Shaw Sefi, had hitherto engaged their attention; and the numerous armies employed by Shaw Jehân on his northern frontiers againſt the Uſbecs, rendered it imprudent to break with him, till they were withdrawn. After the pacification with the prince of Balich, the greater part of the Imperial army had been removed to the ſouth, and a fair field was left for th deſigns of Shaw Abas. That monarch accordingly, in the year 1648, marched with a great force toward Candahâr; but the news

A. D. 1649.
Hig. 1059.

of his preparations for the expedition had been previouſly carried to Lahore. Shaw Jehân, who had arrived in that city toward the cloſe of the year, detached fifty thouſand of his troops under the viſier to cover Candahâr. The prince Aurungzêbe joined that miniſter with the forces ſtationed in his province of Moultân; but before they arrived, the city was ſurrendered to the Perſians by capitulation. Shaw Abas left ten thouſand muſqueteers to garriſon the place, and retreated with the reſt of his army.

Aurungzêbe beſieges it in vain.

Aurungzêbe and Sadulla inveſted the place in the March of 1649. The ſiege continued more than three months before a practicable breach was made; and the Imperialiſts, in a general aſſault, were repulſed with great loſs. The prince, however, did not raiſe the ſiege: he continued his approaches, but he made very little progreſs toward taking of the place. Winter was now approaching, and the weather began to be already very ſevere in that high country. There was a great ſcarcity of forage and proviſions; and the warlike ſtores were exhauſted. The emperor, being apprized of the ſtate of his army, ordered the ſiege to be raiſed; and Aurungzêbe, without laurels, returned toward Lahore.

Defeats the Perſians.

Nizier Ali, the Perſian governor of Candahâr and Murtizi, who commanded an army of obſervation on the frontiers of that province, having joined their forces, fell on the rear of the Imperialiſts in their retreat. Aurungzêbe behaved, upon the occaſion, with his uſual ſpirit and conduct. He fell upon the aſſailants in the flank, with a column of cavalry, which he had filed off from his front, when he firſt obſerved the enemy. The Perſians were repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter. Though defeated, they were not however intimidated. Being reinforced from Candahâr, they hovered round the Imperial army; and, after a few days, formed their line and offered battle. Aurungzêbe did not decline to come to action. The ſhock was from wing to wing; and the conteſt was long and bloody. The prince owed the victory which he obtained to the bravery of Ruſtum, one of his generals, who commanded the reſerve, conſiſting of two thouſand horſe. Ruſtum, when the prince was on the point of quitting the field, fell on the the enemy ſword in hand, and threw them into confuſion. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, reſtored his ranks, and returned to the charge. The Perſians fled, and were purſued twenty miles beyond the field; and the prince returned, with unexpected glory, to the emperor, who ſet out ſoon after the arrival of his ſon for Agra.

Uſbecs apply for aid.

The Uſbec Tartars beyond the Oxus, taking advantage of the debilitated ſtate of Nidder Mahommed, who had not recovered from the blow given to his power by the conqueſt of his country by the Imperialiſts, invaded the dominions of that prince. Mahommed applied, in the character of a vaſſal, to the emperor, who was ſo well pleaſed with this mark of his ſubmiſſion, that he ſent him a very conſiderable ſum of money, which was the principal thing wanted. The eſcort ſent with the treaſure to Balich, conveyed his women and children to Mahommed; but two of his ſons, Chuſero and Byram, who had been created nobles of the empire, remained from choice in India. Many marks of the emperor's favour were conferred on the family of Mahommed. An honorary dreſs was given to each, together with a conſiderable ſum of money. Nor had their education been neglected. Maſters had been appointed to teach the young princes; and the daughters were inſtructed in the ſuitable accompliſhments of their ſex.

The

A. D. 1651.
Hig. 1061.

Morâd removed from the Decan.

The prince Morâd, as before related, had been ſent, under the tuition of his father-in-law, into the Decan. Proud, haughty, and full of fire, he could not bear, with patience, the controul of that lord. He poſſeſſed abilities, and he knew it; and he conſidered it as an inſupportable hardſhip to have the name, without the power of government. He, upon many occaſions, neglected the counſel given him by Shaw Nawâz; but at laſt he added inſult to contempt. "Know you not," ſaid he one day to his father-in-law, "that even you, who attempt to command me, are, by the Imperial commiſſion, ſubject to my government. Behave yourſelf, therefore, as the humble adviſer, not as the proud dictator of my meaſures." Shaw Nawâz was enraged at this diſreſpect; and he wrote letters of complaint to the emperor, who, without further examination, removed his ſon from the government of the Decan. He, however, conferred upon him that of Cabul, and removed Ali Murdan to the government of Caſhmire.

Aurungzêbe beſieges

Morâd, impatient in every ſtation, did not long keep the government of Cabul. Aurungzêbe, by the command of the emperor, made preparations for re-commencing the ſiege of Candahâr. Morâd, inſtead of aſſiſting him with the troops ſtationed in his own province, threw every obſtacle in his way; and pretended that the neceſſary ſervice required all the troops under his command. To Aurungzêbe's commiſſion for taking his choice of all the troops in the northern provinces, his brother oppoſed his own commiſſion for the abſolute command of the forces in Cabul. Aurungzêbe wrote to the emperor; and Morâd was ordered into the province of Malava. Upon his removal, his brother collected an army. The viſier joined him with fifty thouſand horſe from the ſouth, eſcorting five hundred camels loaded with treaſure to pay the army, five hundred with arms, and two

A. D. 1652.
Hig. 1062.

thouſand with other warlike ſtores. The retaking of Candahâr engroſſed ſo much of the emperor's attention, that he himſelf made a progreſs to Cabul to ſupport the beſiegers. Channa-Zâd, the ſon of Aſiph Jâh, was upon this occaſion raiſed to the office of paymaſter-general of the forces. Prince Suja came from his government of Bengal to pay his reſpects to his father, ſoon after his arrival at Cabul.

Candahâr in vain.

The preparations for the ſiege of Candahâr took up a conſiderable time. Aurungzêbe did not appear before it, till the month of January 1652. He inveſted the place on all ſides, and began to make his approaches in form. But his gunners were bad, and his engineers, if poſſible, worſe. The ſiege continued two months and eight days, without any impreſſion being made on the city. All the warlike ſtores were at length exhauſted; the army was diſcouraged, from ſeeing no end to their toil. The prince was aſhamed; and the poſitive orders of his father recalled him to Cabul. Shaw Jehân, after all his expence and idle parade, returned, without having effected any thing material, to Agra. In that city his firſt buſineſs was to promote his children and nobles to honours and governments. Solimân, the ſon of Dara, was raiſed to the dignity of eight thouſand horſe, and ſent to the government of Cabul. Aurungzêbe was ordered back to the Decan. Dara, who held Guzerât by deputy, was removed to Moultân: Suja returned to Bengal; and Shaiſta Chan, one of the ſons of the late viſier, was promoted to the government of Guzerât, in the room of Dara.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. V.

Dara's jealouſy of Aurungzêbe—His bad ſucceſs before Candahâr—Raiſed to a part of the Imperial power—Rebellion of the Rana—Riſe and character of Jumla—Death of the viſier—War in Golconda—Exploits of Mahommed the ſon of Anrungzêbe—War and reduction of Bijapour—Sickneſs of the emperor—Too great violence of Dara—Emperor removes to Agra—Recovers—Dara in high favour—Carries all before him at court.

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Dara's jealouſy of Aurungzêbe.

THOUGH Shaw Jehân, by his great attention upon every occaſion to Dara, had convinced his ſubjects of his deſign to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the throne, that prince was jealous of the growing reputation of Aurungzêbe. The latter, in his frequent expeditions at the head of armies, found various opportunities of gaining friends, by the places of honour and profit which he had, by his commiſſion, to beſtow; and he was not of a diſpoſition to relinquiſh by negligence, the influence which he had acquired by favours. Cool, ſubtle, and ſelf-denied, he covered his actions with ſuch an appearance of honeſt ſincerity, that men imputed his attention to their own merit, and not to his deſigns. The penetrating eye of his father had pierced the veil which he had thrown over his ambition; but the implicit obedience which Aurungzêbe paid to all his commands flattered him into a kind of oblivion of his former obſervations on the duplicity of his character. Dara had carried his jealouſy of Aurungzêbe into a kind of averſion to his perſon. He envied him when ſucceſsful; and he triumphed over his misfortunes: but his exultation was as ſecret as his hatred, as both proceeded from fear, a paſſion which his ſoul diſdained to own.

His unſucceſsful expedition againſt Candahâr.

Aurungzêbe having twice miſcarried in his attempts on Candahâr, Dara wiſhed to gather laurels where his rival had failed. He applied to his father for an army: inſinuating, that the bad ſucceſs which attended his brother, proceeded from his want of knowledge and conduct. A very large ſum was iſſued from the Imperial treaſury; and the army and artillery in the provinces beyond the Indus were ſubmitted to the command of Dara. That prince inveſted Candahâr. The ſiege continued five months, without any impreſſion being made. The ſtores were at laſt exhauſted, the troops were diſpirited, and Dara found himſelf under the neceſſity of retreating with loſs of reputation. Shaw Jehân was ſilent upon the occaſion; and even Aurungzêbe, who triumphed in ſecret over Dara's diſappointment, attributed, in his converſation, this freſh miſcarriage to the ſtrength of the place, more than to his brother's want of abilities in war.

He is ſolemnly appointed ſucceſſor to the emperor.

The unſucceſsful expedition to Candahâr did not ſhake the emperor's deſign in favour of Dara. He foreſaw the tumult and diſorder which were likely to ariſe from the ambition of his younger ſons after his death; and he reſolved to habituate them, in his lifetime, to the authority of their elder brother. Having ordered all the nobles to attend the preſence; he deſcended from his throne, took Dara by the hand, and placed him under the Imperial canopy; commanding the lord of the requeſts to read aloud an edict, changing the name of Dara into that of Shaw Belind Akbal, or THE EMPEROR OF EXALTED FORTUNE. "Behold," ſaid Shaw Jehân, "your future prince! Upon him

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we leave the ſupport of the reputation and honour of the family of Timur." Nor was this merely a ceremony. He devolved on Dara a part of the Imperial power; and made an allowance of more than two millions a-year, for the expences of his houſehold.

A Turkiſh embaſſy.

Soon after this ſolemn appointment of Dara to the ſucceſſion, Shaw Jehân made a progreſs of pleaſure to the city of Ajmere. During his reſidence in that place, Zulfikar Aga, the Turkiſh ambaſſador, arrived from Buſſora at Surat. He was received with the uſual honours, and eſcorted by a party of the Imperial cavalry to court. The preſents which he brought to the emperor were rather curious and rare, than valuable. He was treated with the higheſt diſtinction; a table was kept for him at the public expence; and he was gratified with a conſiderable preſent in money for his own private uſe. He remained for ſome months in Hindoſtan; and Caim Beg, an Omrah of diſtinction, returned with him to Conſtantinople, on the part of the emperor.

Marâja rebels, and is reduced.

The Marâja, who owed his throne to an Imperial deciſion againſt his elder brother, the unfortunate Amar Singh, forgot, about this time, the gratitude which he owed to Shaw Jehân. He ſtopt the payment of the ſtipulated tribute, and began to fortify the ſtrong city of Chitôr. The emperor detached thirty thouſand horſe, under Sadulla the viſier, to chaſtiſe him for his inſolence, and to demoliſh the works. The Hindoo prince hung out the flag of defiance, and the viſier inveſted Chitôr. Parties were at the ſame time, detached on all ſides to lay waſte the open country. The refractory prince had not the ſpirit neceſſary to ſupport his rebellion. He ſent, on the eleventh day, to Sadulla a moſt ſubmiſſive overture of peace. The miniſter referred him to the emperor, who ſtill remained at Ajmere; but that monarch would

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not receive the letters. Orders were ſent to proſecute the ſiege with vigour; and to give no terms. The Maraja, in this extremity, found means to convey a preſent to Dara. That prince ſoftened his father's reſentment; and the Maraja, upon paying the expence of the war, was reinſtated in his hereditary dominions.

Riſe and character of Jumla.

The moſt memorable tranſaction of the year was the promotion of Mahommed Jumla, to the rank of five thouſand horſe. He was recommended to the emperor by the prince Aurungzêbe; and as he is to make a great figure in the ſequel of the hiſtory, there is a propriety in premiſing ſomething concerning his origin and gradual riſe. Jumla was a Perſian, born in Ardiſtan, a village in the neighbourhood of Iſpahan. His parents, though of ſome rank, were extremely poor: he, however, found means to acquire ſome knowledge of letters, which circumſtance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent journies to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his maſter's ſervice, traded on his own account, and acquired a conſiderable fortune, which enabled him to purchaſe a place at the court of Cuttub, ſovereign of Tellingana. In that ſtation he behaved ſo well that he attracted the notice of his prince, who raiſed him to a conſiderable rank in the army. His military promotion opened a field for the abilities of Jumla. He yielded to few in conduct; in courage to none. He roſe by his merit to the head of the forces of Tellingana. He led the army into the Carnatic; and, in a war which continued ſix years, reduced that country to ſubjection. But when he conquered for his ſovereign, he acquired wealth for himſelf. Cuttub wiſhing to ſhare with his general in the ſpoil, diſobliged him; and he attached himſelf to the fortunes of Aurungzêbe, who then commanded for his father in the conquered provinces of the Decan. The prince, who was an excellent judge of character, ſaw ſomething extraordinary in Jumla.

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He found him, upon trial, a fit inſtrument for his ambition; and he exerted all his influence at court in his favour.

Promotions.

Soon after the promotion of Jumla, the eldeſt ſon of the prince Suja was ſent by his father from Bengal to pay his reſpects to the emperor. Shaw Jehân, naturally fond of his poſterity, was ſtruck with the accompliſhments of his grandſon; and raiſed him to the rank of ſeven thouſand horſe. To avoid giving umbrage to Dara, always jealous of diſtinctions beſtowed on his brothers, Cipper Shekô, the ſecond ſon of that prince, was promoted to the ſame rank of nobility. A magnificent feſtival was given on the occaſion; at which the dependants of the two dignified princes aſſiſted. Though jealouſy prevailed in private between the poſterity of Shaw Jehân, in public there was nothing but harmony and affection: Dara who, with the ſtate of an emperor, poſſeſſed alſo a part of the power, treated the ſon of Suja with diſtinction and reſpect. His fears of the ambition of Aurungzêbe abſorbed all his ſuſpicions concerning the deſigns of his other brothers. Suja, who was a man of pleaſure, was not ſo formidable as the hypocritical auſterity of Aurungzêbe; and the open valour of Morâd, without the neceſſary balance of prudence, was not an object of ſerious terror.

Death and character of the viſier.

On the twentieth of February 1656, the viſier died, after a ſhort illneſs. He was forty-ſeven years of age at the time of his deceaſe. His aſſiduity and ability in buſineſs recommended him, in an uncommon degree, to the emperor's affections; and the bier of the miniſter was bathed with the tears of his prince. His parts were rather ſolid than ſhining: induſtry and indefatigable perſeverance made up for the defects of his genius. Experience rendered him maſter of the detail of finance; and he was by habit converſant in the inferior intrigues, which are the

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ſprings of actions of moment. His mind was too much circumſcribed in its powers, to comprehend, at one view, the great line of public affairs; but he could execute with preciſion what he could not plan with judgment. He was fond of military fame, but he was unſucceſsful in the field; though neither deficient in conduct nor deſtitute of courage. Superſtition, which was none of the follies of the age, was the greateſt defect in his character; and his ſanctity was ſaid to be frequently a cloke for diſhonourable deeds.

War in Golconda.

The influence of Jumla with Aurungzêbe, was the ſource of a new war in the Decan, though another cauſe was aſſigned, to reconcile the emperor to the meaſure. Cuttub Shaw, ſovereign of Tellingana and of a great part of Golconda, had, upon the deſertion of Jumla, impriſoned the ſon of that lord, and ſeized upon his wealth. Aurungzêbe complained, in repeated letters, of Cuttub to his father; alleging, that he was dilatory in the payment of his annual tribute to the empire. He therefore applied for leave to bring the refractory prince to reaſon by force. The emperor, jealous of his authority, gave permiſſion for the march of an army into the dominions of Cuttub. Mahommed, the eldeſt ſon of Aurungzêbe, commanded in this expedition; a brave, an obſtinate, and a haughty prince, not to be ſwayed from his purpoſe either by argument or fear.

Mahommed the ſon of Aurungzêbe

Mahommed, at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, entered ſuddenly the dominions of Cuttub; and that prince, expecting nothing leſs than hoſtilities, was totally unprepared for war. He ſent meſſengers to the camp of the Imperialiſts; and paid down the arrears of the tribute. He, at the ſame time, releaſed Amîn, the ſon of Jumla; and endeavoured to ſooth Mahommed with rich preſents. This, however, was not the ſole object of the expedi-

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tion of the Imperialiſts. The fortune of Jumla was ſtill in the hands of Cuttub. A juſt reſtitution was demanded; and the latter in vain objected, that the accounts between him and Jumla were not ſettled; and, therefore, that till they were adjuſted, he could form no judgment of the ſum which ought to be paid. Mahommed continued obſtinate, and advanced to the gates of Hydrabad: When things appeared ready to come to extremities, a few cheſts of money and ſome caſkets of jewels were delivered by Cuttub, as the whole wealth of Jumla. Amîn made greater claims in the name of his father; and the prince, offended at the prevarications of Cuttub, ordered him to come out of the city to do him homage, as the grandſon of his emperor and lord.

takes Hydrabad,

The pride of Cuttub was ſtill greater than his avarice. His mind revolted againſt the very idea of homage; and his rage overcame his prudence. Mahommed entered Hydrabâd. Death and confuſion filled every ſtreet, and the city was ſubmitted to the ravages of fire and ſword. The ſpoils was great, but the deſtruction was immenſe. The avarice of the Imperialiſts was defeated by their fury. The flames moved quicker than depredation; ſo that except ſilver, gold, and jewels, which neither the rage of men nor of fire could deſtroy, nothing of value remained to the conquerors.

and defeats the king of Golconda.

Cuttub, from this ſcene of ſlaughter, tumult, and ruin, fled to the old city of Golconda, which ſtood about ſix miles from Hydrabâd. A number of his troops and many of the citizens followed their ſovereign. Mahommed immediately inveſted Golconda. Cuttub, in his diſtreſs, reſolved to try the fortune of the field. He accordingly marched out with ſix thouſand horſe, twelve thouſand foot, and a great rabble of half-armed men, to

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give battle to the Imperialiſts. The affair was ſoon decided. Cuttub was defeated; and the enemy entered the city at his heels. The horrors of war were renewed in every form. Mahommed waded through blood; Cuttub threw himſelf at his feet, but he was not to be appeaſed by ſubmiſſion. The unfortunate prince at length produced his beautiful daughter, Rizia, to the victor, and he ſheathed his ſword. He married her in form, and a magnificent feſtival was held to celebrate the nuptials. Mirth was mixed with ſorrow; and pageants of joy with the ſolemn funerals of the dead.

Returns to Brampour.

Mahommed, after finiſhing with more good fortune than reputation the war with Cuttub, returned to his father, who reſided at Brampour. Aurungzêbe wrote a pompous account of the ſucceſs of his ſon to the emperor; and that monarch raiſed him to the rank of eleven thouſand horſe. Shaiſta, the ſon of the late viſier Aſiph, was ſecond in command in the expedition againſt Hydrabâd; and he, as a reward for his ſervices, was dignified with the honours of ſix thouſand horſe. Jumla, who had hitherto remained with Aurungzêbe at Brampour, charged himſelf with the letters of that prince to his father. His ſon Amîn attended him to court; and both were received with diſtinguiſhed marks of kindneſs and eſteem. His knowledge and abilities recommended Jumla, in a high degree. The place of viſier was vacant by the death of Sadulla, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Dara, who was averſe to Jumla on account of his attachment to Aurungzêbe, that lord was inveſted with the higheſt office in the empire. The avarice of the emperor joined iſſue, in this promotion, with the merit of Jumla. When he received the ſeals, the preſents which he made amounted to more than ſixty thouſand pounds of our money.

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War with Adil Shaw.

The emperor, ſoon after the promotion of Jumla, took a tour of pleaſure toward the north. Having hunted for ſome time in the foreſts on the banks of the Ganges, he returned to Agra; and, upon his arrival, received intelligence of the death of Adil, king of Bijapour. The principal officers at the court of Adil, without aſking permiſſion of the emperor, raiſed the ſon of the deceaſed to the throne. This conduct was highly reſented by Shaw Jehân, who conſidered the dominions of Bijapour as an appendage of the empire. The expedient upon which he fell, was, in ſome meaſure, the ſource of his misfortunes. The new viſier was ordered with twenty thouſand horſe into Bijapour, to depoſe the ſon of Adil, till he ſhould make his ſubmiſſions in the Imperial preſence. Amîn, who was his father's deputy in his high office, remained at court to carry on the buſineſs of that department.

Death and character of Ali Murdan.

In the month of November of the year 1656, died Ali Murdan, the nominal captain-general of the Imperial forces, on his return from Agra to his province of Caſhmire. His defection from his ſovereign, the emperor of Perſia, and his delivering up the important fortreſs of Candahâr, had highly recommended him to Shaw Jehân; and he had abilities to keep the favour which he had once acquired. The deſigns of Shaw Sefi againſt his life, were a ſufficient apology for his revolt from that prince; and the fidelity with which he ſerved his benefactor, is a proof that neceſſity was the ſole cauſe of his treachery. He was rather a dignified than a great character; more fit for the fatigues of the field than for the intrigues of the cloſet. He was a faithful ſervant to his prince, a conſtant and unſhaken friend, an active and a gallant officer. A love of money, which did not amount to abſolute avarice, was the greateſt defect of his mind; but, were we to judge from the number of his dependants, he was poſſeſſed of a generous diſpoſition. Being always abſent from court in

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the government of various provinces, he had no opportunity for expending his vaſt income; and he therefore amaſſed great wealth. The emperor became the heir of his fortune, which, in money and jewels, amounted to one million eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds.

Expedition into Bijapour.

Intelligence of the march of Jumla flew before him to the kingdom of Bijapour. Ali, the viſier of the deceaſed Adil, who had raiſed the ſon of that prince to the throne, had foreſeen the ſtorm which was now gathering over his head. He levied forces; he fortified his diſmantled caſtles and towns. Jumla, in the mean time, advanced to Brampour. Aurungzêbe joined him with his forces; and, with his uſual affected humility, pretended to ſubmit himſelf to the command of his father's viſier. That miniſter, however, was too much attached to the intereſts of the prince to avail himſelf of his modeſty; and though Jumla bore the name of commander in chief, the orders of Aurungzêbe were only iſſued and obeyed. The greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between them; for they reckoned this preſent expedition as a fortunate prelude to their future deſigns.

Siege of Bider.

The rapid march of the Imperialiſts diſconcerted the meaſures of Ali. He had collected an army, but it was too ſmall and the troops too raw to riſque the fortune of the field. He threw a numerous garriſon into Bider, which is one of the ſtrongeſt places in Hindoſtan. With a body of cavalry he himſelf haraſſed the enemy, leaving the command at Bider to Jân Jiſſi; who had been thirty years governor of that important fortreſs. Aurungzêbe arriving before Bider, reconnoitred it with great attention and care. He foreſaw the difficulty which would attend a ſiege; and he endeavoured, by bribes and large promiſes, to corrupt the fidelity of Jiſſi. That old officer rejected his propoſals with indig-

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nation and diſdain; and the prince, deſpairing of ſucceſs by intrigue, prepared to enſure it by force: he accordingly made his approaches to Bider.

That city taken.

On the twenty-ſeventh day of the ſiege, a mine being ſprung, a practicable breach was made in the firſt wall. Aurungzêbe, wiſhing to make a lodgment within the wall, ordered an aſſault. It happened that one of the principal magazines of the place was under a great baſtion in the ſecond wall, oppoſite to the breach. The beſieged having expended all their granadoes and ammunition in repelling the attack, this magazine was thrown open, that they might ſupply themſelves with more. A rocket by accident fell near the door of the magazine, upon ſome powder that had been ſcattered there in the confuſion. It took fire, and communicating with the magazine, blew up the baſtion, which was covered with people, and deſtroyed the greateſt part of the garriſon, who had been drawn together into that place to oppoſe the enemy. The governor and his three ſons were numbered among the dead. The aſſailants, in the mean time, ſuffered conſiderably from the exploſion. The whole place was expoſed. The Imperialiſts took advantage of the conſternation of the ſurviving part of the enemy. A thick darkneſs, occaſioned by the ſmoke and duſt, covered Bider: Aurungzêbe ruſhed over the ruins; and when light began to appear, he found himſelf in the midſt of the citadel. Though there was no reſiſtance, death ravaged all around him; for even his authority could not appeaſe, for ſome time, the rage of the troops.

Adil Shaw defeated,

Ali, who had looked on Bider as impregnable, had depoſited in that city the greateſt part of his young ſovereign's wealth; and Aurungzêbe acquired an immenſe treaſure as well as an unexpected reputation, from the capture of the place. The miniſter,

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though ſtruck with the loſs of his ſtrongeſt fortreſs, did not give all his hopes away. He collected a numerous army of Abyſſinian mercenaries under the walls of Kilburga; and placed the prince at their head. Aurungzêbe deſpiſed the enemy too much to march againſt him in perſon. He detached twenty thouſand horſe, under the command of Mohâbet, toward Kilburga; whilſt he himſelf ſat down before Kallian, which, after a ſiege of a few weeks, fell into his hands. Mohâbet, in the mean time, came to battle with Ali, and defeated his mercenary army with great ſlaughter. Aurungzêbe himſelf arrived in the camp ſoon after the battle, and inveſted Kilburga, where the fugitives had taken refuge.

and ſubmits.

Kilburga was large and well fortified. The garriſon was numerous, and made frequent ſallies. They at length iſſued forth with their whole force, came to battle, and were driven back into into the city with great ſlaughter. Theſe repeated efforts weakened thoſe within; but one of the generals of young Adil, who commanded a body of horſe, was very active in haraſſing from without, the Imperial army. He cut off their convoys; and a ſcarcity prevailed in their camp. Aurungzêbe, however, was not to be driven from his deſigns. He carried on the ſiege with unabating diligence; and, having made a practicable breach in the walls, he took Kilburga by aſſault on the eleventh of June 1657. Adil, led by his miniſter Ali, threw himſelf at the feet of the conqueror. The tribute of Bijapour was fixed at one million eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds; and a great ſum toward defraying the expence of the war, was paid down by Adil. He, at the ſame time, was obliged to give up his ſtrongeſt forts, and to ſettle eſtates upon ſome of the adherents of Aurungzêbe. That prince having changed the name of the city of Bider to that

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of Zifferabad, or the City of Victory, returned in triumph to Brampour, the ſeat of his government.

Plans concerted between the viſier and Aurungzêbe.

Jumla, the viſier of the empire, remained in the army during the war againſt Bijapour. After the taking of Bider, the name of Aurungzêbe appeared firſt in the commiſſion for commanding the army. The attachment and gratitude of Jumla to that prince, induced him to requeſt the emperor to confer upon him the honour as well as the power in the expedition. The meaſure beſides was favourable to their concerted plans of ambition. Shaw Jehân was now become aged; and his exceſſes in venery had weakened his conſtitution. The ſcene of ambition was not diſtant; and Aurungzêbe, who had opened his whole ſoul to Jumla, had concerted all his future meaſures with that lord. Orders, in the mean time, arrived, for the viſier to return to court. Having ſworn fidelity and ſecrecy to one another, the prince and the miniſter parted at the gates of Brampour.

Emperor falls ſick.

On the ſeventeenth of September 1657, Shaw Jehân was ſuddenly ſeized, in the city of Delhi, with a paralytic diſorder, accompanied with a violent ſtrangury. He remained in a ſtate of inſenſibility for ſeveral days, and all hopes of his recovery vaniſhed. But by the copious bleeding preſcribed by his phyſicians, he was at length relieved. His diſorder, however, returned, though not with the ſame violence; and, on the occaſion, the cuſtomary edict for the remiſſion of the taxes due for the year, when the life of the emperor is in danger, was iſſued, with the uſual formalities. Large ſums were, at the ſame time, given to the poor, and to Fakiers of reputed ſanctity, for their prayers to Heaven for the recovery of Shaw Jehân. The moſques were filled with the devout; and the people in general expreſſed unfeigned

feigned grief at the danger of a monarch, under whoſe auſpicious reign they had enjoyed protection and happineſs. All buſineſs was ſuſpended in Delhi. Silence prevailed over the whole place; except when that ſilence was broken by anxious enquiries concerning the emperor's health. Shaw Jehân was a ſtranger to the intereſt which he poſſeſſed in the hearts of his ſubjects, till he fell into a diſeaſe which was thought mortal by all.

Dara aſſumes the government.

The emperor being by his diſorder rendered incapable of giving any attention to buſineſs, the management of public affairs fell into the hands of Dara. His father had prepared for an accident which might occaſion a ſuſpenſion of government. An edict had ſome time before been iſſued, bearing that the ſignet of Dara ſhould be conſidered as equally valid with that of the emperor, through all the dominions of the houſe of Timur. The prince, however, till Shaw Jehân fell ill, made no uſe of this extraordinary power. When his father became inſenſible, Dara mounted the throne. Warm, vehement, and precipitate, he acted the ſovereign with too much violence. He iſſued out a public order, that no perſon whatever ſhould preſume, under pain of death, to hold any correſpondence with his brothers, upon the preſent poſture of affairs. The agents of Aurungzêbe and Morâd at court, were ſeized, with their papers, and impriſoned. The money in their hands, on account of the princes, was locked up; and, in ſhort, the whole conduct of Dara betrayed the moſt violent ſuſpicions of the deſigns of his brothers.

His violence.

The ſuſpenſion of the viſier was among Dara's firſt acts of power. He ſuſpected his fidelity, as being raiſed to his office by the influence of Aurungzêbe. An Indian prince, by the title of Rai Raiân, was made temporary viſier; for the commiſſions given by Dara were limited expreſsly to the time of the emperor's

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ror's illneſs. The prince, in the mean time, ordered all the nobles into the hall of preſence. He explained to them, with unfeigned tears, the hopeleſs condition of the emperor. He hinted the ambition of his brothers; and the dangers which would ariſe to the empire from a civil war. "The emperor," ſaid he, "more from an idea of juſtice, than from any ſuperior affection to me, has appointed me his ſucceſſor in the throne; and I find, in my own mind, no inclination to relinquiſh what Heaven and my father have thrown into my hands. Thoſe, therefore, who will ſhow the earlieſt zeal in my ſupport, ſhall command my gratitude. Be explicit and open, as I always am; and reſolve to continue faithful Such of you as owe favours to my brothers, will not ſerve me with zeal. Let them, therefore, in their prudence, retire to their houſes. I want not their pretended ſupport; and I will not bear with their intrigues in favour of others." The wiſhes of the prince were commands. The lords, who had eſtates in Bengal, in Guzerat, and in the Decan, the governments of Suja, Morâd, and Aurungzêbe, to avoid ſuſpicion, confined themſelves at home.

Emperor carried to Agra.

On the eighteenth of October, the emperor being much recovered of his diſorder, was placed by his ſon in a barge, which was ordered gradually to fall down the Jumna to Agra. The army and court moved along the banks of the river, with ſlow marches, under the command of Dara; who, though he paſſed the moſt of his time with his father, ſpent the night always aſhore. Several arrangements were made in the greater offices, during this progreſs. Chilulla was ſent back to the government of Delhi; and Daniſmund was turned out of his office of paymaſter-general of the Imperial forces. Amîn, the ſon of Jumla, had found means to recommend himſelf to Dara; and, notwithſtanding that prince's averſion to his father, the ſon was raiſed to the vacant office of Daniſmund.

2 The

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The tour from Delhi was recommended to the emperor, for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health; and he gradually recovered on the way. On the 16th of November 1657, he arrived at a palace in the country near Agra, and he continued daily to mend, till the 7th of February 1658, on which day he entered Agra in perfect health. The populace, who had exhibited their affection in ſilent ſorrow during his illneſs, crowded round him with tumultuous joy. His heart was opened at the ſhouts of his people; and he ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the poorer ſort. The firſt thing he did after his arrival in the Imperial palace, was to enquire for Jumla, the late viſier. He was, however, told that, during his illneſs, that lord had applied to him for leave to proceed to the Decan, and that the leave had been granted. He ſent for Dara. The prince appeared before him; and was ſeverely reprimanded, for diſmiſſing ſo able a man from an office which demanded abilities. "But Jumla," ſaid he, "muſt be diſgraced, ſince you will have it ſo. Dara is to be my ſucceſſor in the throne; and the authority of the heir of the empire muſt not be diminiſhed, by the reſtoration of men whom he has diſmiſſed in his diſpleaſure."

Favour for Dara,

Dara had beſtowed great attention and care on his father during his illneſs. He ſat often, for whole nights, by his ſide; and watched the very motion of his eye, to ſupply him in all his wants. When the emperor was at the point of death, the prince dropt unfeigned tears; and he could not ſuppreſs his joy when the firſt dawn of his father's recovery appeared. But if Dara's filial piety was great, the emperor's gratitude was not leſs. He exhibited to his ſon unbounded teſtimonies of his affection and regard. He raiſed him to the honours of ſixty thouſand horſe; and, in one day, gave him jewels to the value of one hundred thouſand pounds, twelve hundred thouſand in ſpecie, and an order upon cer-

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tain revenues to the amount of three millions more. Three hundred Arabian horſes, with rich furnitures, and a number of elephants were, at the ſame time, beſtowed on the prince by the laviſh hand of his father. "He who prefers the life of an aged parent," ſaid Shaw Jehân, "to the throne of India, can never be ſufficiently paid for his filial piety."

who carries all before him at court.

Though Dara laid down the name of authority at the recovery of his father, his influence was equal to actual power. Solimân Shekô, his eldeſt ſon, was appointed to the command of ten thouſand horſe, to ſuppreſs ſome diſturbances in the province of Allahabâd; his ſecond ſon, Cipper Shekô, was raiſed to the government of Behâr; and Bahadur was ſent as the deputy of the prince, to manage the affairs of the province. The Rana, Jeſſwint Singh, who adhered to the intereſt of Dara, was raiſed to a higher degree of nobility. All means were uſed to attach the affections of the grandees to the heir-apparent. Jaffier Chan, known long for his abilities, was placed in the high office of viſier; Mohâbet was ſent to the government of Cabul, on account of his hatred to Aurungzêbe; and the Rana, who had been ſaved from deſtruction at the interceſſion of Dara, was gratified with the rich and extenſive province of Malava.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. VI.

Cauſe of the civil war—Character of the Emperor's ſons—Dara—Suja—Aurungzêbe—Morâd—Suja takes the field—Defeated by Solimân the ſon of Dara—Morâd rebels in Guzerat—Aurungzêbe in the Decan—Marches to Brampour—Battle of the Nirbidda—Preparations and obſtinacy of Dara—Oppoſes Aurungzêbe—Totally defeated near Agra—Reflections.

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Cauſe of the civil wars.

SHAW Jehân, after a reign of thirty years of proſperity, found himſelf ſuddenly involved in trouble and misfortune. The ſtorm had been long gathering: it was foreſeen, but nothing could prevent it from falling. The emperor, with abilities for buſineſs, was addicted to pleaſure; and, though he was deciſive in the preſent moment, he was improvident of the future. His affection for his ſons was the ſource of the calamities which ſhook his empire. Pleaſed with their promiſing parts when young, he furniſhed them with opportunities for exerting their talents in the cabinet, as well as in the field; and when they became, by their own merit, objects of public attention, it was dangerous, if not impracticable, to reduce them into private ſtations. The unſettled ſyſtem of ſucceſſion to the crown, had rouzed their ambition, and awakened their fears. They were to each other objects of terror, as well as of envy. They all looked forward with anxiety to the death of their father; and each ſaw in that gloomy

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gloomy point, either a throne or a grave. Their hopes and fears increaſed with their growing age. They had provided themſelves againſt the important event of his demiſe; and when he was ſeized with what was deemed a mortal diſeaſe, they broke forth at once from that ſilent reſpect, which their reverence for the perſon and authority of a parent had hitherto impoſed on their minds.

Views of the emperor's ſons.

The means of ambition, which their reſpective ranks in the empire had placed in the hands of each of the ſons of Shaw Jehân, were great; but their boldneſs to carry their ſchemes into execution was greater ſtill. High-ſpirited and intrepid, they wiſhed for no object which their natural courage durſt not attempt to obtain: they were born for enterprize, and though beyond meaſure ambitious, they loved danger more than power. Each was poſſeſſed of armies and of treaſures: and, being rivals in fame as well as in influence, they loſt all affection for one another, in the more violent paſſions of the mind. Dara, veſted with his claim of primogeniture, as well as with his father's declaration in favour of his ſucceſſion, conſtrued the ambition of his brothers into rebellion. Suja, in poſſeſſion of Bengal, was carried by his pride to the reſolution of ſeizing the whole empire: Aurungzêbe covered his ambition with motives of religion; and the vehement Morâd arrogated all to himſelf by his courage. The figure which the brothers are to make in the ſucceeding ſcenes, ſeems to demand a delineation of their reſpective characters.

Character of Dara.

Dara, the eldeſt ſon of Shaw Jehân, was polite in his converſation, affable, open and free. He was eaſy of acceſs, acute in obſervation, learned, witty and graceful in all his actions. He pryed not into the ſecrets of others; and he had no ſecret himſelf,

ſelf, but what he diſdained to hide. He came fairly upon mankind; he concealed nothing from them, and he expected that faith which he freely gave. Active, lively, and full of fire, he was perſonally brave; and he forgot misfortune in the vehemence of his mind; which, neglecting paſt evils, looked forward to future good. Though elevated with ſucceſs, he never was dejected by bad fortune; and though no believer in a particular providence, he met with all the incidents of life as if they had been immoveably determined by Fate. In his public character, he was ſometimes moroſe, frequently haughty, always obſtinate, and full of pride. Self-ſufficient in his opinions, he ſcarce could hear advice with patience; and all he required of his friends was implicit obedience to his commands. But, with this appearance of ill-nature, he was in his diſpoſition humane and kind; for though he was often paſſionate, his rage was not deſtructive; and it paſſed ſuddenly away without leaving a trace of malice behind. In his private character Dara was, in every reſpect, unexceptionable. He was an indulgent parent, a faithful huſband, a dutiful ſon. When he returned at night to his family, the darkneſs which had covered his brow, throughout the day, was diſpelled; his countenance was lightened up with joy, and his whole converſation diſplayed a peculiar ſerenity and benevolence of diſpoſition. Though no enemy, from principle, to pleaſure, he was naturally virtuous; and he filled up his leiſure time with ſtudy, inſtead of thoſe enervating indulgences, which render the princes of the Eaſt effeminate.

Of Suja.

Suja was humane in his diſpoſition, averſe to cruelty, an enemy to oppreſſion. In the execution of juſtice, he had no reſpect of perſons but when the natural tenderneſs of his diſpoſition gave his mind a bias toward the unfortunate. Though honeſt, like his brother Dara, he was not ſo open and free. He never told

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falſehood; but he did not always tell the whole of the truth. He was more tranquil, more cloſe and reſerved than Dara; and he was more fitted for the intrigues of party, and that management which is neceſſary to direct the various paſſions of men to one point. He was generous to his friends; he did not diſdain to hear their advice, though he for the moſt part followed his own judgment of things. He was fond of pomp and magnificence; and much addicted to the pleaſures of the haram. Graceful and active in his own perſon, he loved in women that complete ſymmetry of limbs which rendered himſelf the favourite of the ſex; and he ſpared no expence in filling his ſeraglio with ladies remarkable for their beauty and accompliſhments. In their ſociety he ſpent too much of his time; but the warmth of his conſtitution did not make him neglect the neceſſary affairs of life. During his long government of Bengal, he won the affections of the people by the ſoftneſs of his manners, and his exact and rigorous execution of juſtice; and the country flouriſhed in commerce and agriculture, under the protection which he invariably gave to induſtry. In battle he was brave; nor was he deſtitute of the talents neceſſary for a general; and we much attribute his misfortunes in the field to the effeminacy of his troops, more than to his own want of conduct.

Of Aurungzêbe.

The character of Aurungzêbe differed in every reſpect from thoſe of his elder brothers. Deſtitute of that graceful appearance of perſon which rendered them popular as ſoon as ſeen, he acquired by addreſs that influence over mankind, which nature had on them beſtowed. In diſpoſition ſerious and melancholy, he eſtabliſhed an opinion of the ſolidity of his underſtanding, even among thoſe who had no opportunity of being acquainted with his great talents. Pliant and accommodating in his manner, he gained mankind by flattering their pride; and he wrapt up his behaviour in ſuch plauſibility, that they attributed his attention to their own merit, more than to his deſigns. His common converſation turned always on trifles. In affairs of moment he was reſerved, crafty, and full of diſſimulation. Religion, the great engine of political impoſtors, he profeſſed in all its ſeverity. With it he deceived the weak, and awed into a kind of reverence for his perſon, the greateſt enemies of his power. Though not remarkable for humanity, he did not naturally delight in blood; but ambition was his darling paſſion, and before it vaniſhed all the ſofter feelings of the ſoul. Fear, which renders other tyrants cruel, had no place in his breaſt; but that provident caution, which wiſhes to ſhut up every acceſs to danger, made him careleſs about the lives of his rivals. He had a particular talent for kindling diſſentions among thoſe who oppoſed his deſigns; and his art and cunning were more deſtructive to his enemies than his ſword.

Of Morâd.

Morâd, the youngeſt ſon of Shaw Jehân, was by conſtitution lively and full of fire. With too much levity for buſineſs, he gave up his time to mirth, action and amuſement. He delighted in the chace; he was more fond of battle than of war. In riding, in bending the bow, in throwing the lance, he met with few that could equal him in the armies which he commanded; and he was more deſirous of carrying the palm in the manly exerciſes of the field, than in the intrigues of the cabinet. He deſpiſed all cabals: he gloried in keeping nothing ſecret. He thought it beneath his dignity to command mankind by art; and he openly profeſſed, that he diſdained to owe diſtinction to any thing but the ſword. "To poſſeſs a throne by the will of a parent, to owe it to birth," ſaid Morâd, "is unworthy of a great prince; and had not my brother ſupported his pretenſions to the crown by arms, I would diſdain to wear it." In battle his ſoul

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was a ſtranger to fear; he was even an enthuſiaſt in his love of danger, and ſlaughter was his favourite paſtime. In peace he was mild, though proud, liberal, affable and humane. But his very virtues were weakneſs; and his fate furniſhes a melancholy proof, that an open generoſity of ſpirit is never a match for hypocriſy and deceit. His ſplendid qualities, however, rendered him popular in the army; and Aurungzêbe, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority of parts, owed, at laſt, his ſucceſs over Morâd, as much, at leaſt, to accident as to his known talents. Such were the illuſtrious competitors for the throne of their father.

Suja takes the field.

Suja, who had poſſeſſed the government of Bengal for many years, was the firſt who appeared in the field, upon receiving intelligence of the dangerous illneſs of Shaw Jehân. He excuſed his meaſures by the violence of Dara. He was informed, that he had nothing to expect from his brother ſhould he poſſeſs the throne, but impriſonment, or even death; and he affirmed, that neceſſity had rendered rebellion lawful. The reſources which Suja poſſeſſed, promiſed ſucceſs to his enterpriſe. He had accumulated treaſure, and levied an army; and, though his agent at court tranſmitted to him accounts of his father's recovery, he affected not to credit the intelligence. When he pitched his tent in the field, he iſſued out a manifeſto, which bore that Shaw Jehân was dead; and that there were violent ſuſpicions of Dara's being acceſſary to his death. Though he received letters from the hands of his father, announcing his recovery, he alledged that they were a forgery by Dara to amuſe him, and to divert him from his intentions of revenging the death of the emperor on the parricide. The enemies of Dara contributed by their letters to make Suja perſiſt in his reſolution.

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Oppoſed by Solimân Shekô.

Dara had the earlieſt intelligence of the deſigns of his brother; and he made the neceſſary preparations againſt him. His ſon Solimân, had marched with ten thouſand horſe, to quell ſome diſturbances in the province of Allahabâd. Dara ordered a reinforcement to fall down the Jumna, and to join Solimân. Raja Joy Singh and Debere Chan commanded the detachment, and they had poſitive inſtructions, after joining the prince, to ſtop the progreſs of Suja to the capital with the ſword. The emperor, however, repented of orders procured from him by the violence of Dara. He was averſe to a civil war; and he ſent ſecret directions to Joy Singh to endeavour to induce Suja to return to his government of Bengal. Theſe directions were ſcarce diſpatched to the Raja, when advices arrived at court that the prince Morâd, who commanded in the kingdom of Guzerat, was proclaimed emperor by the army; that the receiver-general of the Imperial revenues, in oppoſing the uſurpation, had been ſlain in battle; and that Morâd, having negociated a conſiderable loan with the bankers of Ahmedabâd, had coined money in his own name.

Suja ſurprized in his camp,

The intelligence of this ſecond rebellion haſtened Suja in his meaſures. He wiſhed to be the firſt of the competitors who ſhould arrive at the capital; and he therefore moved his camp to Benâris. When he was buſy in conſtructing a bridge of boats for croſſing the Ganges, Solimân appeared in ſight on the oppoſite ſhore with his army. A negociation was ſet on foot with Suja by Joy Singh; and it was at laſt agreed, that the prince ſhould return to his government, and diſband his army. The active ſpirit of Solimân did not reliſh this precarious pacification. Joy Singh, without his participation, had ſettled the terms with Suja; and he did not think himſelf bound by a truce, in which he had no hand. He changed his ground, and moved

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few miles up the Ganges. The river by an extraordinary drought was remarkably low. Solimân, to the aſtoniſhment of every body, diſcovered a ford by which the cavalry could paſs. The circumſtance was too favourable to the inclinations of the prince, not to be turned to immediate advantage. In the night he forded the river; and, when day-light appeared, fell ſuddenly on Suja's camp.

and defeated.

Suja, who conſidered the Ganges as an inſuperable barrier, permitted himſelf to be completely ſurprized. The ſhouts of the army, the claſhing of ſwords firſt rouzed him from ſleep. He ſtarted from his bed, ſeized his arms, ruſhed forth, and mounted his horſe. When he looked round him, he beheld nothing but confuſion and terror, and ſlaughter and flight. His voice was not heard in the tumult; and if heard, it was not obeyed. The crowd around him was great; but his army was too much agitated by fear to be reduced to any form. As no man could truſt to another, each endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety by flight. The ſlaughter of thoſe who ſtood, retarded the enemy in their purſuit of the fugitives. Suja, with ſome of his officers, fought with courage; but they were driven into the river; and the prince with great difficulty made his eſcape in a canoe, and fell down the ſtream without ſtopping, tell he reached Mongeer. Solimân, after his victory, marched into Bengal, and beſieged Suja in the fort of Mongeer. But we muſt turn our attention to another quarter of the empire.

Aurungzêbe hears of his

Aurungzêbe, as has been already related, returned to Brampour after having finiſhed the war in Tellingana. He did not continue long in that city. He took up his reſidence in a town in the neighbourhood of Dowlatabâd, which he had rebuilt, and called after his own name Aurungabad. In this place he received the firſt news of his father's illneſs; but three months relapſed before he heard any further intelligence from court. Dara, who was reſolved to eſtabliſh himſelf firmly on the throne in caſe of the demiſe of his father, had placed guards on all the ferries and highways; at the ſame time iſſuing orders to all the officers of the cuſtoms, and the commanders of diſtricts, to ſtop all letters and travellers. Theſe circumſtances induced Aurungzêbe to believe that his father was dead; and he began to levy forces for his own ſecurity. In the midſt of his preparations, letters were received from Morâd, who commanded in Guzerat. That prince informed Aurungzêbe that Dara had uſurped the throne, and was taking meaſures for cutting off his brothers. He therefore propoſed that they ſhould join in their own defence. Aurungzêbe embraced Morâd's propoſal with joy. He knew his own ſuperior abilities, which were more than a match for the open valour of Morâd; and he hoped, that if by his aſſiſtance he could defeat Dara, his own way to the throne would be paved. A negociation with Morâd was opened, and the preparations for war continued.

father's illneſs.

Jumla, who had been diſmiſſed from the office of viſier by Dara, arrived in the mean time from Agra in the Decan. Shaw Jehân having diſapproved of that lord's being turned out of his department, endeavoured to gratify him in ſome other way; and had, for that purpoſe, given him the command of a conſiderable body of troops, to reduce ſome places which ſtill held out in the lately conquered provinces. Dara, who was jealous of Jumla's known attachment to Aurungzêbe, kept his family in the capital as the hoſtages of his faith. Jumla, pitching his camp in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, was informed of Aurungzêbe's preparations for war. He ſent him a meſſage, informing him that the emperor was recovered, and had reſumed the reins of government.

Gains over

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vernment. The prince, aſtoniſhed at the coldneſs of Jumla, ſent to demand a conference: but that lord, fearing the ſpies of Dara who were diſperſed over the camp, refuſed to wait upon a man, who was arming againſt his ſovereign.

Jumla

Aurungzêbe penetrated into the cauſe of this cautious conduct. He knew that he was attached to his intereſt; and that it was only the fear of Dara's reſentment againſt his family, prevented him from joining with alacrity in his own views. He therefore had recourſe to art. Mahommed Mauzim, the ſecond ſon of Aurungzêbe, was a great favourite with Jumla. That prince was ſent to viſit him with proper inſtructions from his father. Mauzim, who was then about ſeventeen years of age, poſſeſſed a part of Aurungzêbe's addreſs. He waited upon Jumla in his tent, without any previous notice, and was received with great kindneſs and diſtinction. When night was coming on, Jumla put the prince in mind of the time; and Mauzim told him, that having waited upon him without either the permiſſion or knowledge of his father, he was afraid of returning without the cuſtomary honour of being attended by the perſon to whom he had paid the viſit. Jumla, who was aſhamed of being defective in point of politeneſs, agreed to accompany Mauzim home. When they came to the prince's apartment, Jumla ſignified his intention of returning; he was, however, perſuaded to enter. Mauzim retired, and his father appeared. He earneſtly inſiſted, that Jumla with the army under his command, ſhould join in his deſigns upon the throne. That lord excuſed himſelf, on account of his family, who were in the hands of Dara. It was at length ageeed, that the perſon of Jumla ſhould be ſeized; and an order iſſued for confiſcating all his effects. This expedient ſecured him the reſentment of both parties; and a door of reconciliation was left open, whichever ſide ſhould prevail. The troops, ſoon after the impriſonment of their general, joined the ſtandard of Aurungzêbe.

Marches from Aurungabad.

On the ſixteenth of February 1658, Aurungzêbe marched from Aurungabad with twelve thouſand horſe; leaving his ſecond ſon Mauzim with a ſufficient force for the protection of the Decan, from whence he intended to derive his ſupplies for the war. Nijabut Chan, deſcended in a direct line from Timur, commanded his vanguard, and took the rout of Brampour. He himſelf followed with the main body, and arrived on the firſt of March at that place. He remained at Brampour near a month, for an anſwer to the diſpatches which he had ſent to Guzerat to his brother. His propoſals to that prince were ſo obviouſly hypocritical, that only the open ſpirit of Morâd, who, being full of honeſty himſelf, ſuſpected no guile in others, could be for a moment deceived. He profeſſed in his letters, that he had always been his affectionate friend; that Dara, from his natural weakneſs, was incapable of holding the reins of government, beſides that he was from principle indifferent about all religion; that Suja, with abilities little ſuperior to Dara, was a heretic, and by conſequence unworthy of the crown. "As for me," continues Aurungzêbe, "I have long ſince dedicated myſelf to the ſervice of God. I deſire only for that ſafety and tranquillity, which ſuits the fervency of my devotion. But I will with my poor abilities aſſiſt Morâd to take poſſeſſion of a ſcepter, which the united wiſhes of the people of Hindoſtan have already placed in his hand. Morâd may then think of his faithful Aurungzêbe, and aſſign him a quiet retreat, for paſſing the remainder of his life in the auſterities of religion."

His management of Morâd:

Morâd, who, with his ſplendid qualities, was ſelf-conceited and vain, aſcribed Aurungzêbe's moderation to his own ſuperior

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merit. He wrote back to his brother, that he was ready to join him with all his forces; and, for that purpoſe, was preparing to march from Ahmedabâd. On the twenty-ſecond of March, Aurungzêbe having received the diſpatches of Morâd, left the city of Brampour, and took the rout of Ugein, where the brothers had preconcerted to join their forces. Arriving on the banks of the Nirbidda, he was informed that the Maraja, Jeſſwint Singh, had, on the part of Dara, taken poſſeſſion of Ugein, with ſeventy thouſand horſe. He was, beyond meaſure aſtoniſhed, that the enemy had not ſent a part of his army to guard the paſſage of the river, which might have ſtopt his progreſs. He, however, with his ſmall force durſt not croſs it; and he encamped on the oppoſite banks in anxious expectation of the arrival of Morâd.

Oppoſed at the Nirbidda.

The Maraja, inſtead of attacking Aurungzêbe with a force that promiſed a certain victory, when he had advanced within ten miles of the rebels, took poſſeſſion of a woody hill, on the top of which there was an extenſive plain. In this place he intrenched his army; and contented himſelf with detaching flying ſquadrons to awe the enemy from croſſing the river. The conduct of the Maraja, who was perſonally brave, proceeded in a great meaſure from his pride and arrogance. He was heard to ſay, That he waited for the junction of the brothers, that he might in one day triumph over two Imperial princes. Aurungzêbe owed his ſafety to this unaccountable folly. His ſmall army, when he arrived on the banks of the Nirbidda, was ſo much fatigued with the march, and ſpent with the exceſſive heat of the weather, that he might be routed by an inconſiderable force.

Joined by Morâd.

A few days after Aurungzêbe's arrival at the Nirbidda, the van of Morâd's army entered his camp. When they were firſt ſeen, on a riſing ground near the army of Aurungzêbe, the enemy ſtruck his tents, and advanced toward the banks of the river. Aurungzêbe diſpatched a meſſenger to haſten Morâd, who was ſtill about fifteen miles diſtant. He himſelf, in the mean time, reſolved to take the preſent opportunity to paſs the river, which by the late extreme drought had become fordable. He placed, therefore, his artillery, which was worked by ſome Frenchmen in his ſervice, on a riſing ground, and entered the river in columns, under his own fire. The Maraja, truſting to the height of the banks and his advanced-guard, who were already engaged with the enemy, contented himſelf with drawing up his army in order of battle at a diſtance. Aurungzêbe, having forced the paſſage of the river, encamped on its bank; and the next day he was joined by Morâd, who had left his army on their march. The brothers, after a long conference, reſolved to attack the enemy by the dawn of the morning; whilſt orders were ſent to the forces of Morâd, who were not yet arrived, to hold themſelves in readineſs for action.

April 22, defeats the Maraja.

The Maraja, by his ſcouts, being appriſed of the motions of the rebels, was ready to receive them. He drew up, before day-light, his army in order of battle, to be ready to accommodate his diſpoſitions afterwards to the appearance of the enemy's line. He accordingly began the action with the Mogul cavalry, but theſe were ſoon repulſed by the veteran troops of Aurungzêbe. The Maraja, who foreſaw the diſcomfiture of the Moguls, ſhewed behind them the front of thirty thouſand of his native troops the Rajaputs, in whom he chiefly confided. Aurungzêbe, upon ſeeing this formidable body, drew back from the purſuit, and reſtored his line. The Maraja advanced with impetuoſity, and the prince met him half way. The ſhock was extremely violent; and the rebels were on the point of giving way, when Morâd, with his troops, juſt

arrived

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arrived on the field, attacked the enemy in flank. The victory was ſnatched from the hands of the Rajaputs: their prince diſdained to fly. The wings were broken and ruined; but the center, animated by the preſence of their prince, ſtood its ground. Slaughter and danger increaſed every moment. Morâd was irreſiſtible on the right flank; and Aurungzêbe, who had been on the point of retreating, advanced again to the charge. The Rajaputs behaved with their uſual bravery; but they were ſurrounded on all ſides. The action became mixed and undiſtinguiſhed. Friends were miſtaken for foes, and foes for friends. Uncertainty would have ſuſpended the ſword, but fear made it fall every where. About the ſetting of the ſun, the field, covered with ten thouſand dead bodies on the ſide of the enemy, was left to Aurungzêbe and Morâd. The Maraja, after the battle was over, drove his chariot, by way of bravado, quite round the army of the victors; and when it was propoſed to Aurungzêbe that a party ſhould be detached in purſuit of that prince, "No," he replied, "let the wounded boar have time to fly."

Maſculine behaviour of the Maraja's wife.

The bad ſucceſs of the Maraja proceeded not more from his own folly, than from the addreſs of Aurungzêbe. That prince had his emiſſaries in the Imperial camp, who inſinuated to the rigid Mahommedans, that ſhould the Maraja prevail, their religion would be at an end in India. The Moguls accordingly made but a faint reſiſtance; and the whole weight of the action fell upon the Rajaputs. The Maraja, after his defeat, was aſhamed to appear at court. He retreated to his own country; but his wife, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, diſdained to receive a huſband not covered with victory. She ſhut the gates of her caſtle againſt him. He in vain remonſtrated, that, though unſucceſsful, he had fought with the bravery of his anceſtors, as appeared from the number of the ſlain. "The ſlain," ſaid ſhe, "have left Jeſſwint without an

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excuſe. To be defeated is no new thing among the Marajas, but to ſurvive a defeat is new. Deſcended from their blood, adopted by marriage into their houſe, they left their glory in the hands of Jeſſwint, and he has tarniſhed it with flight. To be the meſſenger of the ruin of his armies, to ſhow the world that he fears death more than diſgrace, is now become the employment of my huſband. But I have no huſband. It is an impoſtor that knocks at our gates. Jeſſwint is no more. The blood of kings could not ſurvive his loſs of fame. Prepare the funeral pile! I will join in death my departed lord." To ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm had this woman carried her ideas of valour. She herſelf was the daughter of the late Rana, and Jeſſwint was of the ſame family. He, however, prevailed upon her to open the gate of the caſtle, by promiſing that he would levy a new army, and recover from Aurungzêbe the glory which he had loſt to that prince.

Aurungzêbe remains at Ugein.

The princes, after their victory over the Marajá, entered Ugein in triumph. Morâd, who loved battle as a paſtime, was unwilling to ſtop in that city; but Aurungzêbe convinced him that it was neceſſary to refreſh the troops for a few days, after the fatigues of a long march, and the toils of an obſtinate action. He at the ſame time informed him, that time ſhould be given to their victory to work upon the fears of the enemy. "Beſides," ſaid Aurungzêbe, "there are thirty thouſand men in the army of Dara, whom I intend to gain over to my intereſt before we ſhall again engage." The true cauſe of this delay was a want of information of the real ſtate of the court of Agra. If Dara was the ſovereign, Aurungzêbe had no doubt of carrying all before him, on account of the unpopularity of that prince among the nobility; but if the reins of government had reverted into the hands of Shaw Jehân, who was, in a manner, adored both by the army and the

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the people, he was ſure that even his own troops would deſert him in a day of battle. He had ſent privately expreſſes to his friends at Agra, and he waited for their return.

Perplexity of the emperor.

The news of the battle near the Nirbidda arrived, in the mean time, at court. Dara was enraged at the Moguls, from whoſe cowardice or perfidy the rebels derived their ſucceſs. The emperor himſelf was perplexed beyond meaſure. He was ſenſible of the determined reſolution of his rebel ſons: he dreaded the violence of Dara. He ſaw nothing but misfortune before him, and ſome dreadful calamity hanging over himſelf and his family. The eager preparations of Dara for another battle, alarmed him as much as the approach of the rebels. A victory would make Dara maſter of the empire: a defeat would throw himſelf into the hands of thoſe whom he oppoſed. His mind flew from one reſolution to another, and he could fix on none. The proſpect was gloomy before him; and ſeeing no point on which he could reſt his hopes, he left all to chance.

Preparations of Dara,

Dara, with the natural activity and vehemence of his temper, prepared, with redoubled vigour, for the field. He paſſed like a flame through the capital, and kindled thouſands into an eagerneſs equal to his own. When the firſt news of the defeat of the Maraja came to court, Dara ſent an expreſs to his ſon Solimân, who beſieged Suja in Mongeer. He deſired him to make the beſt terms which the urgency of the times would admit with Suja, and to return to Agra by forced marches. A negociation was opened accordingly with the beſieged prince. His neceſſities made him liſten, with eagerneſs, to a treaty. Solimân, in the name of the emperor, reinſtated him in the government of Bengal, after having exacted from him a ſolemn promiſe of taking no farther part in the war. He himſelf marched, night and day, to reinforce his

father;

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ſather; and had he arrived in time, Aurungzêbe might have given his hopes to the wind. Solimân was then in the twenty-ſixth year of his age; graceful in his perſon, and vigorous in his mind. Nature ſeemed to have formed him for war. He was brave in action, ſedate, and poſſeſſing himſelf in the greateſt dangers. He was generous in his diſpoſition, liberal in his ſentiments, pleaſing to his friends, humane to his enemies. He poſſeſſed the fire and warmth of Dara without his weakneſſes; the prudence of Aurungzêbe without his meanneſs and deceit.

who marches againſt Aurungzêbe and Morâd.

The Imperial army, in the mean time, marched out of Agra under the conduct of Dara. The emperor became more and more perplexed, as matters approached to a deciſion. He knew that the nobles loved not Dara: he knew that the beſt troops were abſent with Solimân. One expedient only remained, and that, if followed, would have inſured ſucceſs. He ordered the Imperial tent to be pitched without the walls; declaring, that he would take the field in perſon againſt the rebels. His friends ſaw an end to his troubles in this reſolution. His own army to a man would die in defence of his power; and even the troops of Aurungzêbe and Morâd had openly declared, that they would not draw their ſwords againſt Shaw Jehân. The infatuation of Dara prevented his father's deſigns. He had recourſe to intreaty, and when that failed, to commands. The emperor, whoſe intellects had been in ſome meaſure impaired by his illneſs, was, at firſt, ſhocked at the obſtinacy of Dara. That prince, whoſe filial piety was even greater than his ambition, waited upon his father. He threw himſelf at his feet, and earneſtly requeſted that he would not endanger his health by taking the field; as, upon his life, the proſperity of the empire depended, in days of ſo much trouble.

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Charge given him by his father.

The emperor, having yielded to the intreaties of Dara, conjured him, though bent on war, to avoid coming to action till the arrival of his ſon. The malignity of his fate prevailed alſo over this advice. He ſaid not a word to his father; but his countenance expreſſed chagrin and diſcontent. "Then go, my ſon," ſaid Shaw Jehân, "but return not without victory to me. Misfortune ſeems to darken the latter days of your father; add not to his grief by preſenting yourſelf before him in your diſtreſs, leſt he may be induced to ſay, That prudence, as well as fortune, were wanting to Dara." The prince had ſcarce parted with his father, when news arrived of the march of the rebels from the city of Ugein. Dara placed himſelf immediately at the head of the army, which conſiſted of one hundred thouſand horſe, with a thouſand pieces of cannon. He advanced haſtily to the banks of the river Chunbul, which is twenty miles from Agra. A ridge of mountains, which extend themſelves to Guzerat, advance into the plain country, along the Chunbul, to within twenty-five miles of the river Jumna; and this paſs Dara occupied with ſtrong lines, ſtrengthened by redoubts, which were mounted with artillery.

Aurungzêbe turns the rear of the Imperial army, June 1.

Dara had not long remained behind his lines, when the princes, on the firſt of June, appeared on the oppoſite bank of the Chunbul, and pitched their camp within ſight of the Imperial army. Aurungzêbe reconnoitred the ſituation of the enemy, but he was not to be forced. His army conſiſted not of forty thouſand men; and they were fatigued with the heat of the weather and the length of their march. But there was no time to be loſt. Solimân, covered with laurels, was approaching faſt with the flower of the Imperial army, to ſupport his father's cauſe. No hopes preſented themſelves to Aurungzêbe; and he became, of a ſudden, ſullen, melancholy, and perplexed. To retreat was ruin: to advance deſtruction. He was loſt in ſuſpence. Morâd, with his uſual love of arduous undertakings, was for forcing the lines; but a letter from Shaiſta, the ſon of Aſiph Jâh, and who was third in command in the Imperial army, broke off that meaſure, by preſenting a better to the brothers. This treacherous lord informed Aurungzêbe, that to attempt the lines would be folly, and that the only means left him was to leave his camp ſtanding to amuſe Dara, and to march through the hills by a bye-road, which two chiefs, who were directed to attend him in the evening, would point out. The princes cloſed with the propoſal. The guides joined them in the evening, and they decamped with the greateſt ſilence, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery under a ſtrong guard, who were to amuſe the enemy. The army moved about thirty miles that night; and the next day they were diſcovered by the ſcouts of Dara, in full march toward Agra.

Dara's order of battle, June 5.

Dara decamped from his lines with precipitation, leaving the greater part of his cannon behind him. By a forced march he puſhed between the enemy and the capital; and on the fourth of June he preſented himſelf before the rebels. On the morning of the fifth, the prince ordered the army to be formed in order of battle. Ruſtum Chan, an experienced general from Tartary, marſhalled the field. The artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains to prevent the paſſage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery ſtood a number of camels, mounted with ſmall ſwivels, which the riders of each camel, without lighting, could charge and diſcharge with eaſe. In the rear were drawn up the muſqueteers in three lines; and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows together with ſabres. One third of the cavalry formed the reſerve behind the lines. Dara placed himſelf in the center, mounted on a lofty elephant, from which he could command a view of the field. The treacherous Shaiſta took the command of the right wing; and that of the

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left was deſtined by Dara for Ruſtum. That officer, who was acknowleged the moſt experienced commander in Hindoſtan, was actually at the head of the army. He bore the commiſſion of captain-general, and all orders were iſſued by him. He repreſented to Dara, before the action commenced, that he intended to place himſelf at the head of the reſerve in the rear, where he might direct the movements of the field, and iſſue out his orders as the circumſtances of affairs might require. "My poſt," ſaid Dara, "is in the front of battle; and I expect that all my friends ſhall partake of my danger, if they wiſh to ſhare the glory which I hope to obtain." The generous and intrepid ſpirit of Ruſtum was offended at this reflection. He anſwered with a ſtern countenance and a determined tone of voice, "The front of battle has been always my poſt, though I never contended for an empire; and if I wiſhed to change it to-day, it was from an anxiety for the fortune of Dara." The prince was ſtruck with the impropriety of his own conduct. He endeavoured to perſuade Ruſtum to remain at the head of the reſerve; but he went beyond hearing, and placed himſelf in the front of the left wing.

That of Aurungzêbe.

Aurungzêbe, on the other hand, having marſhalled his army into order of battle, requeſted of Morâd to take the command of the center. He committed the left wing to his ſon Mahommed, and he placed himſelf on the right. Morâd was aſtoniſhed, and pleaſed at the eaſe with which Aurungzêbe aſſigned to him the poſt of honour. But the crafty prince had two reaſons for his conduct. Morâd was haughty, he had aſſumed the Imperial titles, and though, out of a pretended complaiſance to his father, he had laid them down, he looked forward with undeviating ardour to the throne. It was not the buſineſs of Aurungzêbe to offend him at this critical juncture. But his other reaſon was equally prudent. Ruſtum commanded the left wing of the enemy; and he was the moſt renowned general of the times. He had paſſed many years in the ſervice of the Tartars and Perſians, being bred up to the the field from his youth, in which he had always eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf. He had been preſent in one hundred general actions; he was habituated to danger, and perfect maſter of his own mind in the moſt deſperate ſituations. Aurungzêbe therefore could not truſt the experience of Ruſtum, againſt the conduct of any but his own.

The battle begins.

Both lines began now to move from wing to wing; and the artillery opened on both ſides. Ruſtum advanced, on the left, with a haſty pace, directing the march of his troops by the motion of his ſword. Aurungzêbe ordered a part of his artillery to point toward Ruſtum; and that general received a cannon-ball in his breaſt, when he had advanced within five yards of the enemy. The whole wing ſtopt at the fall of Ruſtum: but Sitterſal, one of the chiefs of the Rajaputs, at the head of five thouſand horſe, fell in, ſword in hand, with Aurungzêbe. Shaw Mahommed, who commanded under the prince, oppoſed the Rajaputs with great bravery. A ſharp conflict enſued; and the Rajaputs began to file off, when their leader engaged perſonally with Shaw Mahommed. The Rajaputs ſtrove to cover their chief, but in vain; he was cut down by the ſabre of Mahommed. The whole wing fell into diſorder, but did not fly; and a promiſcuous ſlaughter covered the field with dead.

Dara's bravery.

Dara, mounted on his elephant, in the mean time advanced with the center. He was obſerved by his army to look over all the line, and they gathered courage from his intrepid demeanor. A part of the enemy's artillery was oppoſed to the very point where Dara advanced. A heavy fire was kept up, and his ſquadron fell into a kind of diſorder; but when he waved his hand for them to ad-

vance,

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vance, they reſumed their ranks, and followed him with ardour. Before he could come to blows with the enemy, a ſecond volley occaſioned a ſecond diſorder. He however ſtood up on his elephant, and, without any change in his countenance, called out with a loud voice to advance with ſpeed. He himſelf, in the mean time, fell in with the firſt line of Morâd. He ruſhed through with his elephant, and opened a way for his horſe, who, preſſing into the heart of the enemy, commenced a great ſlaughter.

Morâd's bravery.

The whole center under Morâd was broken, and the prince himſelf was covered with wounds. He endeavoured to lead his troops again to the charge; but they were deaf to his commands. He ordered his elephant to be driven among the thickeſt of the enemy; being determined to fall with his fortune, or, by a brave example, to re-animate his flying troops with hopes of recovering the day. His boldneſs was attended with ſucceſs. His ſquadron ſeeing the enemy ſurrounding their prince, were aſhamed of their terror, and poured around him. Arib Daſs, an Indian chief, thrice ſtrove to reach Morâd with his ſword; but he did not ſucceed, on account of the height of the elephant. He, however, cut the pillars which ſupported the roof of the Amari or caſtle, which falling upon the prince, incumbered him in ſuch a manner, that he could not defend himſelf. He however diſengaged himſelf, and dealt death with his arrows on every ſide. In the mean time Mahommed, the ſon of Aurungzêbe, was ſent by his father's orders from the left to the aſſiſtance of Morâd. He came up when the prince was in the greateſt danger. Freſh ſpirit was given to the troops of Morâd, and Dara received a check.

Dara, by an accident

The battle now raged with redoubled fury. The elephant of Morâd, rendered outrageous by wounds, ruſhed forward through the columns of the enemy. Mahommed, aſhamed of being left behind, followed him with great ardour. Dara did not retreat. He gave his orders with apparent compoſure. But a cannon-ball having taken off the head of his foſter-brother, who ſat with him on the elephant, he was almoſt blinded with the blood. A rocket, at the ſame time, paſſing by his ear, ſinged his turban; a ſecond followed, and having ſtuck in the front of the Amari, burſt, and broke it all to pieces. His colour was ſeen then to change. The lord who drove the elephant obſerved an alteration in the prince; and, whether through perſonal fear, or for the ſafety of his maſter, is uncertain, retreated a few paces. Dara reprimanded him with ſeverity; but the miſchief was already done. His ſquadrons ſaw the retreat of the prince; and their ſpirit flagged. He however ordered the driver to turn his elephant toward the enemy, but that lord repreſented to him, that now, being marked out by the rebels, it were better for him to mount his horſe, and purſue the fugitives, for that now very few remained on the field. He alighted; but there was no horſe to be found. He fought for ſome time on foot. At length he mounted a horſe whoſe rider had been killed.

is defeated.

Almoſt the whole of both armies had now left the field. Not a thouſand men remained with Dara, and ſcarce one hundred horſe with Aurungzêbe and Morâd. The latter however fought with increaſing ardour. His young ſon, of about eight years of age, ſat with him upon the elephant. Him he covered with his ſhield, and dealt his arrows around on the enemy. Aurungzêbe, having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying ſquadrons, advanced with fifty horſemen to the aſſiſtance of Morâd, hoping more for an honourable death than for a victory. It was at the very inſtant that he came to blows with the Imperialiſts, that the unfortunate Dara diſmounted from his elephant. The ſquadrons who had ſtill adhered to that prince, ſeeing the elephant retreating with the Imperial ſtandard,

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ard, thought that Dara had been killed. The cauſe for which they fought, in their opinion, no longer exiſted. They betook themſelves to flight; and when Dara had mounted his horſe, he found the field bare of all his troops. He fled with precipitation, and the rebel princes found themſelves at the head of only two hundred horſemen, in poſſeſſion of an unexpected victory.

Reflections.

This battle, in which many thouſands were ſlain on both ſides, was loſt to Dara by an accident; though that prince was guilty of previous follies, which made men forbode no good to his arms. Had he ſat on his elephant a few minutes longer, the princes his brothers would have been involved in thoſe irretrievable misfortunes which now ſurrounded him. But his evil ſtars prevailed. He who never received counſel before, was ruined by hearkening to advice; and Aurungzêbe, who had placed his hopes on art and intrigue, owed, at laſt, his ſucceſs to his valour. Dara, like a deſperate gambler, threw all upon throw; and when Fortune favoured him in that, he turned the dye for his foes. Had he permitted Shaw Jehân to have taken the field, his brothers would ſcarce have dared to negociate for their lives; had he waited for his gallant ſon, it would not have been a conteſt but a flight. But ambition had dazzled the eyes of Dara, and he could not ſee things in their proper light. Had the emperor appeared at the head of his forces, his power would be at an end. Had Solimân arrived freſh from the conqueſt of Suja, the glory of victory would have reſted upon that prince. Dara, unfortunately for himſelf, was, from his love of power, afraid of his father; and, from the deſire of fame, envious of the renown of his ſon.

SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. VI.

Reflections—Dara appears before his father—His flight to Delhi—The army deſerts Solimân Shekô—Shaiſta Chan condemned to death—Reſcued—The confederate princes appear before Agra—Aurungzêbe writes to his father—Conference between him and the princeſs Jehanâra—His artful conduct—By a ſtratagem ſeizes the citadel and the emperor—Deceives Morâd—Marches with him in purſuit of Dara—Seizes and impriſons Morâd—Purſues Dara—Mounts the throne at Delhi—Reflections on his conduct—The news of his acceſſion brought to Shaw Jehân—Character of that prince.

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Reflections.

THE deciſive battle, which quaſhed for ever the hopes of Dara, and gave the crown of Hindoſtan to Aurungzêbe, was fought within ſixteen miles of Agra. The victor, aſtoniſhed at a piece of good fortune which he did not expect, purſued not his enemies beyond the field. The fugitives on both ſides had rallied, in the rear of the ſmall parties who continued the action, and preſented a ſhew of firmneſs, without any inclination of renewing the combat. To an unconcerned ſpectator it would have been difficult to determine which party had prevailed. The flight on each ſide was equal; and the field was left, by both armies, to the dead. But Dara was conquered in his own mind; he paſſed ſuddenly through the half-formed lines of his rallied army, and men, who wanted but an excuſe for flight, relinquiſhed their ground with precipitation. Aurungzêbe was firſt convinced of his victory by its conſequences; but whether from policy or fear is uncertain, he forbore to advance towards Agra. He gave time to his troops to recover from their terror; as well as room to his enemies to increaſe their panic: beſides, the affairs of his rival were not deſperate. Should the emperor take the field in perſon, the rebel princes, notwithſtanding the advantages which they had obtained, would have vaniſhed from his preſence. But his diſtemper had not left Shaw Jehân, and he was incumbered with the indolence of age.

Dara appears before his father.

The emperor had ſat all day, in anxious expectation, in the tower over that gate of the citadel which looked toward the field of battle. Parties of fugitives had often alarmed his fears; but the expreſſes from Dara, during the time of action, had as often reſtored his hopes. The prince at length came to the foot of the wall, with marks of his own defeat. To mention the reſult of the battle was ſuperfluous; his appearance betrayed misfortune. "The rebels, I perceive, have prevailed," ſaid Shaw Jehân with a ſigh; "but Dara Shekô muſt have had ſome other cauſe than fear for his flight."—"Yes," replied the prince, "there is a cauſe. The traitor Shaiſta Chan! I have loſt the empire, but let him not eſcape unpuniſhed." The emperor bent his eyes to the ground, and for ſome time uttered not one word; at length ſuddenly ſtarting up, he ſaid, "What means Dara to do?"—"To defend theſe walls," replied the prince. "You deceive yourſelf," ſaid Shaw Jehân; "walls are no defence to thoſe who have failed in the field." Having expreſſed himſelf in theſe words, he ordered the byeſtanders to remove. He then adviſed Dara to ſet out immediately for Delhi. He told him, That the governor of that city ſhould have orders to ſupply him with all the public money in his poſſeſſion; and that an expreſs ſhould be immediately diſpatched to his ſon Solimân, to march along the northern banks of the Ganges, and to join him in the province of Doâb, which lies between that river and the Jumna.

Flies

Dara, approving of this advice, retired to his own palace, and made preparations for his immediate flight. He loaded all his elephants and chariots with his women and ſlaves; and for want of beaſts of burden, he imprudently left his treaſure behind. About midnight, the unfortunate prince iſſued out of Agra, mounted on horſeback, accompanied by a few menial ſervants. One of the pikemen who attended him, had the inſolence to ride cloſe by his ſide, and to murmur in his ears concerning the loſs which he himſelf ſuſtained by ſuch an abrupt departure. Dara was enraged at this ſudden mark of his own fallen condition. "Slave!" ſaid he, "murmur not at your fate. Behold me, who but yeſterday commanded armies, reduced thus low, and forget your own trivial misfortunes. Behold me, who am called great as Darius," alluding to his own name, "obliged to fly by night, and be ſilent concerning your fate." The pikeman was ſtruck by the reproof. He ſhrunk back, and the other ſervants wept. One of them was ſo much enraged that he prepared to chaſtiſe the ſlave; but Dara interpoſing ſaid, "Forbear! the friends of the unfortunate have a right to complain in their preſence."

to Delhi.

Dara proceeded through night, and deceived his misfortunes by repeating ſome of the elegies of Hafiz, a famous poet of Shiraz. When he had rode two miles from Agra, he heard the noiſe of horſemen approaching from behind. He ſtood and drew his ſword; but they were two private ſoldiers, who, having perceived the prince paſſing through the gate of the city, took a reſolution to join him. They told their buſineſs; and Dara was prevented from thanking them by his tears. He had not advanced many

miles,

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Raiſes forces. The emperor, anxious about Dara, ſent to his palace ſoon after his departure. He underſtood that, in the confuſion, he had neglected to carry along with him his treaſure. He immediately ordered fifty-ſeven mules to be loaded with gold coin, and to be ſent to his ſon under the protection of a detachment of the guards. But a tribe of Hindoos, who have ſince made a figure under the name of Jates, having intelligence of this treaſure, defeated the party, and ſeized the money. This was a dreadful blow to Dara. Thirty lacks of the public money were only found in the poſſeſſion of the governor of Delhi; and the merchants and bankers would ſubſcribe to no loan, in the preſent untoward poſture of the prince's affairs. The threats of military execution at laſt enabled him to raiſe conſiderable ſums, for which he gave orders on the Imperial treaſury. Soldiers flocked round his ſtandard; and he had, in a few days, the appearance of an army.

Aurungzêbe corrupts Aurungzêbe, who ſtill remained encamped near the field of battle, was informed of every tranſaction in Agra by his ſpies. The greateſt lords, who looked upon him as the heir if not the actual poſſeſſor of the empire, endeavoured to gain his favour by giving him intelligence. He found that all the hopes of Dara depended upon the army under the command of his ſon; and he reſolved to gain it over to his own views. He ſent letters to the Raja Joy Singh, he wrote to Debere Chan, who were next in command to Solimân Shekô. He exaggerated, if poſſible, the

hopeleſs

hopeleſs condition of Dara; he informed them, that the army of that prince had joined his ſtandard, that he himſelf had fled unattended to Delhi, that he could not eſcape, as orders had been diſtributed through all the provinces to ſeize him, as a public enemy. "Shaw Jehân," continued Aurungzêbe, "is rendered unfit for government by age and infirmities. Your hopes, and even your ſafety muſt depend upon me; and as you value both, ſeize Solimân, and ſend him to my camp."

the army of prince Solimân.

Joy Singh, who received the firſt letters from Aurungzêbe, was perplexed. His fears ſtood againſt his adherence to Solimân; his honour rendered him averſe to ſide with Aurungzêbe. He went to the tent of Debere; and that lord placed the letters which he alſo had received, in his hands. To ſeize the prince was a meaſure of peril, from his known valour; to attempt to ſeduce the army, whilſt he remained at its head, dangerous. They followed the middle courſe as the ſafeſt. When the news of the defeat of Dara arrived at the camp, about a day's march beyond Allahabâd, the prince called a council of war. He propoſed to march ſtraight to Delhi; they diſſented, and plainly told him, that they would not ſtir from the camp till more certain advices arrived. The prince, anxious to join his father, was diſtreſſed beyond meaſure. He endeavoured to perſuade them; but their meaſures had been taken. He applied to the army; they too were traitors, and diſobeyed. Inſtead of being able to aſſiſt Dara, he became afraid of his own ſafety. He reſolved to leave a camp where he had no authority. He, however, altered his opinion, and remained; but the principal officers, with their retinues, left the camp.

Shaiſta Chan condemned to death.

Shaiſta Chan, who had commanded the right wing of Dara's army in the late battle, betrayed his truſt, and retreated without

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coming to blows with the rebels. He returned to Agra; and a meſſage was ſent him by the emperor, commanding him to appear in the preſence. His friends adviſed him not to obey; but his confidence was equal to his want of faith. He truſted in his own power; he was encouraged by the vicinity of the victorious princes. He went, and ſtood undaunted in the preſence. The emperor, offended before at his treachery, was enraged at his impudence. "You villain," ſaid he, "you ſon of a villain, how could you preſume to betray my ſon and me?" Shaiſta took fire at the reproach. "The name," he replied, "I confeſs, is not unſuitable to Aſiph Jâh; he inveſted Shaw Jehân with power, by delivering the heir of the crown into his hands." The emperor ſtarted from his throne, and drew his ſword. He looked furiouſly around on the nobles, and cried, "Will none of you ſeize the traitor?" All were ſilent; the emperor repeated the ſame words. Fowlâd Chan ſtept forth, threw Shaiſta to the ground, and binding his hands behind him, aſked the further pleaſure of Shaw Jehân. "Throw him headlong," ſaid he, "from the Imperial baſtion." When they were dragging him to execution, Shaiſta cried out to the emperor, "Shall you, who are the vicegerent of God, break his laws, by ſhedding blood on the ſeventh day of the holy month of Ramzân?" Shaw Jehân hung down his head for a moment; and then ordered him to be kept bound till the next day.

Reſcued.

The friends of Shaiſta were, in the mean time, appriſed of his danger. They gathered from all quarters, and collected near ten thouſand men, who came to the gate of the citadel, and peremptorily demanded him from the emperor. Shaw Jehân continued obſtinate during the night. In the morning, the force of the rebels had increaſed; and he perceived that they were reſolved to come to extremities. He ſent for the priſoner; and obliged him

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to write an order for them to diſperſe. They ſaw through this piece of policy. They refuſed to obey the commands of a man ſubject to another's power. Scaling ladders were actually applied to the walls; and the emperor was obliged to comply with the demands of the inſurgents, and to reſtore Shaiſta to his freedom.

The princes appear before Agra.

On the ninth of June, the confederate princes appeared with their army before the capital. The city was in no condition to ſuſtain a ſiege; and the gates were left open. Aurungzêbe, declining to enter Agra, pitched his tent in a garden without the walls. His ſchemes were not yet ripe for execution; and he aſſumed an appearance of moderation. Morâd lay ill of his wounds; and, being unable to attend to buſineſs, a fair field was left for his brother. The emperor, when the van of the rebels appeared in ſight, ordered the gates of the citadel, which was a place of great ſtrength, to be ſhut. This reſolution alarmed Aurungzêbe. To attack his father would be a meaſure of great imprudence. His health being re-eſtabliſhed, his ſubjects ſtill looked up to him as their only lawful ſovereign. Aurungzêbe, therefore, reſolved to ſubſtitute art in the place of force.

Aurungzêbe ſends to his father.

When he arrived at the gate of the city he ſent a truſty meſſenger to his father. He ordered him to touch the ground in his name, before the emperor; and to ſignify to him, that Aurungzêbe ſtill retained for him the affection of a ſon, and the loyalty of a ſubject; that his grief for what had happened was exceedingly great; that he lamented the ambition and evil deſigns of Dara, who had forced him to extremities; that he rejoiced extremely at the emperor's recovery from his indiſpoſition; and that he himſelf remained without the city, in humble expectation of his commands. Shaw Jehân being no ſtranger to the dark, crafty, and intriguing diſpoſition of Aurungzêbe, received his meſſenger with

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affected joy. He had long diſovered his paſſion for reigning; and he reſolved to meet deceit with duplicity. He, however, was not a match in art for his ſon; and by endeavouring to intrap Aurungzêbe, he himſelf fell at laſt into the ſnare.

The conference

Shaw Jehân, to expiſcate the real deſigns of his rebellious ſons, ſent his eldeſt daughter Jehanâra to viſit them, upon their arrival at the gates of Agra. Aurungzêbe having owned the ſuperiority of Morâd, the princeſs went firſt to his tent. Morâd was of a diſpoſition that could neither conceal his hatred nor his love. He knew that Jehanâra was inviolably attached to the intereſts of his elder brother; and being at the ſame time fretful through the pain of his wounds, he treated her with diſreſpect, and even uſed harſh expreſſions. The haughty ſpirit of Jehanâra was impatient of inſult. She called for her chair in her rage, and told him, that his brutality was equal to his crimes. The behaviour of Morâd to his ſiſter was inſtantly carried to Aurungzêbe, by his ſpies. He ran out of his tent, and ſtopt her chair. "Will my ſiſter," he ſaid, "leave the camp without enquiring concerning my health? My long abſence, Jehanâra, has, I fear, blotted me out of the memory of my relations. Should you not deign yourſelf to honour me with your preſence, it would have been kind to have ſent to me one of your meaneſt ſlaves, to give me ſome accounts of my father." Having flattered her pride with ſuch expreſſions as theſe, he prevailed upon her to enter his tent, where ſhe was treated with the higheſt reſpect and diſtinction.

of the princeſs Jehanâra

To gain the confidence of Jehanâra, he pretended the greateſt remorſe for his own behaviour. He told her, that his happineſs in life depended upon his father's forgiveneſs of his errors. "But why did I call them errors, Jehanâra?" ſaid he, "they are crimes; though I might plead as an excuſe, that I was deceived by deſigning men; but my folly in believing them, has thrown diſcredit on my underſtanding, in my own eyes." His aſſeverations were accompanied with tears; and the princeſs was deceived. "I am no ſtranger," ſhe replied, "to the ſentiments of the emperor, on a ſubject which has cauſed ſo much of his ſorrow. He is moſt offended at Morâd, who has added the name of Sovereign to his other crimes. He conſiders Aurungzêbe as only miſled by miſrepreſentation; Morâd as an obſtinate and determined rebel. Deſert him, therefore, and you may not only depend upon forgiveneſs, but upon all the favour an indulgent parent can beſtow on a ſon whom he loves."

and Aurungzêbe.

Aurungzêbe's countenance appeared lightened up with joy, during the time which ſhe employed in ſpeaking. But an affected darkneſs returned upon his features when ſhe mentioned Morâd. "Dara's party," he then began, "is ruined; and Fortune has added to the friends of Morâd. The firſt is unpopular, on account of his paſſionate ſeverity among the nobility; the latter beloved, for the open honeſty of his diſpoſition and his unequalled valour. As for me," continued Aurungzêbe, "I am what I ſeem, a man devoted to the ſervice of God; a character little calculated to gain the favour of men. But ſhould Dara appear to have friends to ſupport my endeavours to regain the eſteem of my father, I venture to aſſure Jehanâra, that I will ſucceed or periſh in the attempt." He ſpoke theſe words with ſuch an appearance of emphatic ſincerity, that the princeſs was overjoyed. In the openneſs of her heart, ſhe informed him of all the reſources of her brother Dara; and ſhe mentioned the names of his principal friends. Many who pretended to be in the intereſt of Aurungzêbe were of the number; though they had yielded for the preſent to the bias of fortune. Without any perſonal affection for Dara, they affected his cauſe from a principle of juſtice. "I am rejoiced, Jehanâra,"

Jehanâra," ſaid Aurungzêbe, "at the diſcovery you have made. No doubts now remain to perplex my mind. Go to my father, and tell him, that in two days he ſhall ſee Aurungzêbe at his feet."

Emperor writes to Dara.

Shaw Jehân, upon this occaſion, forgot the natural cautiouſneſs of his character. He looked upon his ſchemes as completed; and thought he ſaw Aurungzêbe already ſubmitting to his clemency. In the fulneſs of his heart he ſat down and wrote a letter to Dara. He acquainted the prince, that the bad aſpect of his fortune began to change. "Aurungzêbe," ſaid he, "is diſguſted with the inſolence of Morâd. He is to abandon that haughty young man, and to throw himſelf at my feet. A fooliſh and inexperienced boy, who owed all his ſucceſs to the abilities of his brother, muſt ſoon fall when deprived of his ſupport. But we are not to depend upon the contrition of Aurungzêbe. When he ſhall enter the citadel, his perſon will be ſeized. Hold yourſelf, therefore, in readineſs to march with all expedition to Agra. Two days more ſhall carry to you accounts of the full completion of our deſigns." The emperor placed his letter in the hands of Nahirdil, one of his truſty ſlaves. He ordered him to ſet out for Delhi at midnight, with all expedition.

His letter intercepted.

The impatience of the emperor proved fatal to his ſchemes. Shaiſta Chan had his ſpies in the preſence; and one of them informed him, that a letter had been written, and given in charge to Nahirdil. He ſuſpected that it was intended for Dara; and he occupied the road toward Delhi with ſome faithful friends. Nahirdil had ſcarce iſſued out of the gate of the city, when ſome horſemen ſurrounded and ſeized him. He was brought to Shaiſta, who peruſed the letter. Elevated with the diſcovery, he immediately went to the palace of Aurungzêbe; for that prince had now taken up his reſidence in the city. The ſlave was confined with the greateſt ſecrecy. The prince read the letter without emotion. He had always doubted the emperor's ſincerity, when he promiſed his forgiveneſs to a ſon who had ruined his armies in two battles. He, however, proſecuted his plan of deceit with indefatigable perſeverance. To beſiege his father in the citadel would be an unpopular, if not a dangerous meaſure. The reverence which the army ſtill had for their aged ſovereign, would prevent them from drawing their ſwords againſt him. But the citadel muſt be poſſeſſed, and the perſon of the father muſt be placed in the hands of his ambitious ſon; otherwiſe he may give his hopes to the wind.

Aurungzêbe's ſchemes

On the fifteenth of June, Aurungzêbe was to have performed his promiſe of viſiting his father in the citadel. The emperor, full of anxiety, looked forward to the appointed hour, in which he ſaw a period to his misfortunes. A letter from his ſon was delivered into his hands, when he expected him in perſon. He told his father, that his crimes were of ſo deep a dye, that he could not diveſt himſelf of fear that the injured emperor would not forgive him. "However much deſirous I am of being received into favour, I cannot riſque my perſonal ſafety in the preſence. The guilty are always timid. Permit me, therefore, to receive the moſt convincing proofs of my ſovereign's forgiveneſs; and let my ſon, Mahommed, who reveres the perſon and authority of his grandfather, be admitted into the citadel with a guard for the protection of my perſon." Shaw Jehân, anxious for the execution of his own project, found, that without conſenting to theſe propoſals, it muſt be entirely fruſtrated. He therefore returned for anſwer, that Mahommed, with a certain number of men, might come.

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to ſeize the emperor.

Mahommed accordingly, having received the proper inſtructions from his father, entered the citadel, and diſpoſed his party in different places. The emperor, in the mean time, had concealed a body of men in a court adjoining to the haram. The prince roaming about, lighted on theſe men. He complained to the emperor of an intention againſt his father's perſon; he therefore plainly told him, that till theſe men were removed, he would ſend a meſſenger to Aurungzêbe to ſtop him from coming into the citadel. Shaw Jehân, whether he put ſome confidence in the promiſes of his ſon, or that he thought he could ſeize him by means of the women and eunuchs of the ſeraglio, is uncertain; but he removed the ſoldiers out of the fort, as a proof of his ſincerity. It afterwards appeared, that the emperor reſted his hopes on a number of robuſt Tartar women in the haram, whom he had armed with daggers; and who, from the ſpirit of their country, were fit for an undertaking of boldneſs.

Shaw Jehân taken priſoner.

Mahommed, contrary to his expectations, found his party ſuperior within the citadel. He, however, concealed his intentions. Every thing was ſettled; and the emperor and his grandſon remained in ſilent expectation. News was at laſt brought, that Aurungzêbe had mounted his horſe; and that the proceſſion of his retinue was approaching. Shaw Jehân was elevated with hopes; but the crafty prince, as if ſtruck with a fit of devotion, ordered his cavalcade to change their courſe, and to move toward the tomb of Akbâr, where he intended to offer up his prayers to Heaven. When the emperor was informed of this circumſtance, he ſtarted up from his throne in great rage. "Mahommed," ſaid he to the prince, "what means Aurungzêbe by this behaviour? Is he more anxious to appeaſe the ſpirit of his great anceſtor for his crimes, than the offended majeſty of his own father?" Mahommed calmly replied, "My father had never any intention

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intention to viſit the emperor." "What then brought Mahommed hither?" retorted Shaw Jehan. "To take charge of the citadel," Mahommed coolly rejoined. The emperor finding himſelf betrayed and outwitted by his grandſon, bore him down with a torrent of opprobrious names. The prince, ſeeing his paſſion riſing beyond the bounds of reaſon, retired from the preſence with the uſual obeiſance, and left his rage to ſubſide at leiſure.

He offers the empire

The emperor, after the heat of his paſſion was over, began to reflect upon his deplorable condition. He accuſed his own weakneſs more than his fortune; and he was aſhamed to have fallen into a ſnare which he himſelf had laid. Reſentment and a deſire of immediate revenge prevailed over every other paſſion of his ſoul. He ſent again for Mahommed. The prince came; and found his grandfather with his hand upon the Coran, and his eyes raiſed to the Imperial crown, which was ſuſpended over his head. "You ſee, Mahommed," he ſaid, "theſe ſacred objects, before an unfortunate old man. I am overwhelmed with rage, worn out with age and diſeaſe. It is in your power, young man, to make me, for once, happy in my latter days. Releaſe me from priſon; and by theſe," pointing to the crown, and holding the Coran in his hand, "I ſolemnly ſwear to make you emperor of the Moguls." The prince was ſilent; but various paſſions flew alternately over his features. "And do you heſitate," begun Shaw Jehân, "to do an action, which will at once gain you the favour of Heaven and the empire of Hindoſtan? Are you afraid, that it ſhall be hereafter related to your diſpraiſe, that you delivered an aged grandfather from priſon and diſgrace?" The prince hung down his head for a moment; then ſuddenly ſtarting, ruſhed out without uttering a word.

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to the ſon of Aurungzêbe.

It is difficult to determine what motive induced the prince to decline the offer made to him by Shaw Jehân. He was ambitious; nor was he remarkable for his filial piety. He probably doubted his grandfather's ſincerity; or he did not chuſe to truſt to propoſals impoſed by neceſſity. Aurungzêbe, however, eſcaped from imminent danger through the ſelf-denial of his ſon. Had the emperor appeared in public at the head of his friends, Aurungzêbe would ſhrink from before him; and the haughty Morâd would fly. The nobles who adhered to the intereſt of the brothers, and even the common ſoldiers had repeatedly declared, that they would not draw their ſwords againſt a prince under whoſe long and auſpicious government their country had ſo much flouriſhed. The firſt repulſe received from Mahommed, did not induce the emperor to relinquiſh his deſigns. He ſent to him a ſecond time; but he refuſed to come to his preſence. He had ſtill the keys of the citadel in his poſſeſſion; and neither Aurungzêbe nor his ſon choſe to uſe force to obtain them from him. Two days paſſed in this ſuſpence. Shaw Jehân was obſtinate; and Mahommed ſtood on his guard within the walls. The firſt, however, deſpaired of gaining over the latter to his purpoſe; and, in the evening of the ſecond day, he ſent him the keys of the fortreſs, and deſired him to acquaint his father, that he might now come, in full ſecurity, to ſee his impriſoned ſovereign.

Aurungzêbe writes to the emperor.

Aurungzêbe excuſed himſelf in a letter. He complained of his father's intentions againſt him, under the maſk of clemency and friendſhip; that when he pretended to forgive one ſon, he aſſiſted another ſon with money, to take away his life in war. "If the emperor complains," ſaid Aurungzêbe, "Dara is only to blame. He owes his misfortunes to the ambition and evil deſigns of a ſon unworthy of his favour. As for me," continued the prince, "no injuries can alter my affections. Nature makes me wiſh well to my father; and Heaven has impoſed my regard for him upon me as a duty. But though I love the emperor, I alſo love my life; and I am determined not to truſt it in the hands of even a father, till the influence of ill-deſigning perſons has departed quite from his mind. Let him, in the mean while, paſs his time in that ſerene tranquillity which is ſuitable to his years; and when I ſhall have diſabled Dara from doing further harm to the empire, I myſelf will come and open the gates of the citadel." This letter was only intended to deceive the people. It was publicly read to the nobles; and it is even doubtful whether it was ſent at all to the emperor.

Deceives Morâd.

When the prince Mahommed took poſſeſſion of the perſon of the emperor, with the citadel, his father, as has been already related, was paying his devotions at the ſhrine of the emperor Akbâr. When intelligence of his ſon's ſucceſs was carried to him, he immediately waited upon Morâd in his palace; and told him all the circumſtances of the affair. That prince, who knew that he could have no hopes from his father, was much pleaſed at hearing of his impriſonment. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, ſaluted him emperor, and ſaid; "Morâd had before the name, but he now has the power of a ſovereign. My wiſhes," continued he, "are now completely accompliſhed. I have contributed to raiſe a prince, worthy of the throne of our anceſtors, and I have but one favour to aſk for all the fatigue which I have undergone." "Speak your wiſhes," ſaid Morâd, "and they ſhall be inſtantly granted." "This world," replied Aurungzêbe, "has already overwhelmed me too much with its cares. I long to throw the burden away; I am tired of the vain buſtle and pageantry of life. Will, therefore, the emperor of the Moguls permit me to make a pilgrimage to Mecca? will he give me ſome ſmall allowance to enable me to paſs my days in eaſe, and in the exerciſe of prayer and conſtant devotion ?" Morâd, though ſecretly overjoyed at his reſolution, made ſome ſlight attempts to diſſuade him. Aurungzêbe was determined. His brother yielded to his importunity; and the crafty prince prepared for a journey which he never intended to make.

Prepares to purſue Dara.

Whilſt this farce was acting at Agra, advices arrived that Dara had collected a conſiderable force at Delhi. Officers of diſtinction crowded to the prince every day from the diſtant provinces. Aurungzêbe pretended to be alarmed. He adviſed his brother to march in perſon to finiſh the war. That prince, who was fond of action, prepared for the field; but he wanted money. The old emperor had concealed part of the Imperial treaſure; Aurungzêbe had ſecreted the reſt. The army of Morâd had not been paid for two months, and they began to murmur. The prince called together all the bankers of Agra. He offered to mortgage part of the revenue, for an immediate loan; but they refuſed to give him credit. He was enraged beyond meaſure, and he prepared to uſe force; when his brother adviſed him againſt an act of injuſtice, and promiſed to diſcharge the arrears due to the army out of his own private fortune. Morâd acceded to the propoſal, without obſerving its fatal tendency. Aurungzêbe, by this expedient, became at once popular in the army and in the city.

Counterplot of Morâd.

The deſigns of Aurungzêbe were now too palpable not to be perceived. The friends of Morâd had long ſeen through his deceit; and the prince himſelf, though not ſuſpicious, was now convinced that he covered ambition under the maſk of ſanctity. The preparations for Mecca had been converted into preparations for the field. He told his brother, that he ſtill ſtood in need of his advice. He marched in front from Agra, with a diviſion of the army; and Morâd, having created his uncle Shaiſta, captain-general of the Imperial forces, left that lord in the government of Agra, and followed Aurungzêbe. The latter prince having arrived at Muttra, received intelligence, that Dara had taken the rout of Lahore. He ſtopt, and waited for the arrival of his brother; who joined him the next day. The latter had, on his march, been convinced by his friends, that his brother had deſigns on his life; and ſelf-preſervation, as well as ambition, rendered it neceſſary for him to prevent the falling blow.

Miſcarries.

The day after Morâd's arrival at the camp near Muttra, he invited his brother to an entertainment. Aurungzêbe, who never had ſuſpected the open temper of Morâd, accepted of the invitation. When the brothers ſat at dinner, Nazir Shabâs, high-ſteward of the houſehold, who was in the ſecret, entered ſuddenly, and whiſpered in Morâd's ear, that now was the time to make a rent in a magnificent dreſs. Aurungzêbe, whoſe eye could trace the thoughts in the features of the face, was alarmed at this myſterious whiſpering, as well as at the affected gaiety of his brother. He remained ſilent; and Morâd diſpatched Shabâs, with only deſiring him to wait the ſignal. Aurungzêbe was now convinced that there was a deſign againſt his life. He complained ſuddenly of a violent pain in his bowels; and, riſing under a pretence of retiring, joined his guards, and returned to his own quarter of the camp.

Morâd deceived,

Morâd aſcribed his brother's departure to his illneſs; and entertained no idea that he had the leaſt ſuſpicion of his own intentions. In three days he recovered of the pretended pain in his bowels. He received his brother's congratulations with every mark of eſteem and affection; and the day after, he ſent him an invitation to come to his tent, to ſee ſome beautiful women, whom he had collected for his amuſement. Their per-

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formances in ſinging, in dancing, and in playing upon various inſtruments of muſic, were, he ſaid, beyond any thing ever ſeen in Hindoſtan. He enlarged upon their grace, their beauty, the elegant ſymmetry of their limbs. The mind of Morâd, who was naturally a great lover of pleaſure, was inflamed at the deſcription; and, contrary to the advice of all his friends, he went to his brother's quarter. On the arrival of the emperor, as Aurungzêbe affected to call his brother, he was received by the young ladies in an inner tent. They were handſome beyond deſcription, and the voluptuous prince was ſtruck with a pleaſing aſtoniſhment at their charms.

and ſeized

An elegant entertainment was in the mean time ſerved up to the ſound of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. Morâd was elevated, and called for wine of Shirâz. The ladies ſat round him in a circle, and Aurungzêbe, throwing off his uſual auſterity, began to partake of the wine. Morâd in a ſhort time became intoxicated, and his brother, inſtead of wine, impoſed upon him bumpers of arrack. He at length fell aſleep on a ſopha, in the arms of one of the ladies. Aurungzêbe had, in the mean time, given orders to ſome of his officers, to entertain the lords who attended Morâd in the ſame voluptuous manner. Even his body-guard were intoxicated with wine; ſo that the unfortunate prince was left without defence.

by Aurungzêbe.

Aurungzêbe gave orders to Ziffer Jung and three other lords, to enter the tent and to bind his brother. The lady retired upon their coming; and they advanced to the ſopha on which he lay. His ſword and dagger had been already removed by the care of Aurungzêbe; and they began ſoftly to bind his hands. Morâd ſtarted up at this operation; and began to deal around his blows. The lords were terrified, and the prince began to call aloud for his ſword. Aurungzêbe, who ſtood at the door of the tent, thruſt his head from behind the curtain, and ſaid, with a menacing voice, "He has no choice but death or ſubmiſſion; diſpatch him if he reſiſts." Morâd, hearing the voice of his brother, began to upbraid him; and ſubmitted to his fate. Nazir Shabas, his principal friend and adviſer, was at the ſame inſtant ſeized. He had been ſitting under a canopy before the paymaſter-general's tent; and at a ſignal given, the ropes of the four poles were at once cut; and before he could extricate himſelf, he was bound. The other lords who were attached to the prince, being ſurrounded with armed men, were brought before Aurungzêbe, to whom they ſwore allegiance. A murmur ran through the camp; but it was an ineffectual ſound: and the army, as if but half wakened from a dream, fell faſt aſleep again.

Sent priſoner to Agra.

The night was not far advanced when Morâd was ſeized and bound. Before day-light appeared, he and his favourite were mounted on an elephant, in a covered amari or caſtle, and ſent off under an eſcort to Agra. Fearing that ſome attempts might be made to reſcue them, Aurungzêbe ordered three other elephants to be ſent off before them, attended by guards to elude purſuers. The precaution was unneceſſary. Mankind forſook Morâd with his fortune. In action, in the manly exerciſes of the field, he had many admirers; but the accompliſhments of his mind acquired him but few friends; and even thoſe whom he favoured with his generoſity, were diſguſted at his haughtineſs. He fell by attempting to be artful. Had he followed, in his deſigns againſt his brother, the natural bias of his own intrepid mind, he could not have failed; but he met that crafty prince in his own province of deceit, and he was foiled. This remarkable tranſaction happened in the camp near Muttra, on the ſixth of July 1658.

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Aurungzêbe advances to Delhi.

Though Shaiſta, who was left in the government of Agra, was ſufficiently attached to the cauſe of Aurungzêbe, that cautious prince left his ſon Mahommed in that capital, to watch any unforeſeen events that might ariſe. To the joint care of Mahommed and Shaiſta the unfortunate Morâd was committed; and his brother having no fears remaining in that quarter, moved his camp from Muttra, and arrived at Delhi on the twenty-ſixth of July. Though he had not aſſumed the Imperial titles, he created Omrahs in that city, the firſt of whom was Ziffer Jung, whom he dignified with the name of Chan Jehân. Under that lord he detached a diviſion of his army againſt Dara. That prince, upon the news of the approach of Ziffer, decamped from Sirhind, and took the rout of Lahore. In his march he laid under military execution all the Rajas and governors of diſtricts who refuſed to join. He raiſed conſiderable ſums in his way; and having croſſed the Suttuluz, ordered all the boats on that river to be deſtroyed.

Dara flies to Lahore.

Dara having advanced beyond the river Bea, took poſſeſſion of Lahore. Giving his army time to breathe in that city, he employed himſelf in levying troops, and in collecting the Imperial revenue. Daôod, the general of his forces, remained in the mean time at the village of Tilbundi, with half the army, to guard the paſſage of the river Bea. Aurungzêbe, upon advice of the diſpoſitions of Dara, reinforced the army of Ziffer with five thouſand horſe, under the conduct of Chillulla. The war with Dara, from being protracted, became ſerious. The minds of the people were divided, as long as two princes continued in the field. Aurungzêbe, with his caution, was rapid in his deſigns. He knew how to uſe as well as how to gain a victory. His ſuſpicious temper ſaw peril riſing from delay; and therefore, notwithſtanding the ſolſtitial rains were at their height, and the country deluged with water, he prepared to move toward Lahore with all his forces.

Aurungzêbe mounts the throne,

Apprehending that his not aſſuming the name of emperor, would be conſidered by mankind as a tacit acknowledgment of the injuſtice of his proceedings, he reſolved to exalt the Imperial umbrella over his head. His affected ſelf-denial upon former occaſions, ſtood at preſent in the way of his deſigns. He was aſhamed to take upon himſelf an honour which, from motives of religion, he had pretended before to reject. His moſt intimate friends knew, however, the ſecret thoughts of his mind. They inſinuated to the nobles, that Aurungzêbe, from declining ſo long to aſcend the throne, ſeemed to have ſtill an intention of retiring from the world, that, in his zeal for religion, he might be induced to leave his friends to the reſentment of his enemies; that therefore it was the buſineſs of all to force upon him, in a manner, a power neceſſary to their own ſafety. They waited upon him in a body. He ſeemed diſappointed, and even offended at their propoſal. At length he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded. "You are," ſaid he, "reſolved to ſacrifice my love of retirement to your own eaſe. But be it ſo; God will, perhaps, give me that tranquillity upon the throne, which I hoped to find in a cell; and if leſs of my time ſhall be employed in prayer, more of it will be ſpent in good actions. I ſhould only have an inclination for virtuous deeds in my retreat; but, as emperor of the Moguls, I ſhall have the power of doing them. Theſe motives, and not the vain pomp of greatneſs, induce me to aſſume the empire."

at Delhi.

On the ſecond of Auguſt, in an aſſembly of the nobility, he mounted the throne, in the garden of Azabâd near Delhi. No pompous ceremonies were uſed upon the occaſion; for he af-

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fected to deſpiſe magnificence. His finances, at the ſame time, were low; and he prudently conſidered that money, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, would be better beſtowed upon an army, than on the idle pageantry of ſtate. He aſſumed upon his acceſſion to the throne, the pompous title of ALLUM-GIRE, OR THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD; being then near the cloſe of the fortieth year of his age.

Reflections

The means taken by Aurungzêbe to obtain the empire, were ſcarce more juſtifiable, than thoſe by which he ſecured to himſelf the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the throne. Religion, the convenient cloke of knavery in all countries, was the chief engine of his ambition; and, in that reſpect, he relied on the credulity of mankind, to a degree of unpardonable imprudence. His ſelf-denial and moderate profeſſions agreed ſo little with his actions, that it is even aſhoniſhing, how any perſon of common reflection could have been for a moment deceived. But the vulgar give implicit faith to ſanctity in its moſt queſtionable form; and Morâd, by whoſe popularity and valour his brother overthrew the hopes of Dara, ſuſpected not a duplicity to which his own ſoul was a ſtranger. To deceive that prince, was to ſecure the empire. Bearing more the appearance of an hermit himſelf, than that of a competitor for the throne, the army looked up to Morâd; who being addicted beyond meaſure to pleaſure, gave up the influence as well as the labour of buſineſs to his brother. Aurungzêbe, to ſupport his ambitious views, was obliged to have recourſe to arts which ſtamp his character with meanneſs, whilſt they prove the abilities of his mind.

on the conduct

Morâd, with many commendable qualities, was alſo diſtinguiſhed by diſguſting weakneſſes. Inſtead of that haughty pride which recommends itſelf in its very abſurdities, he was puffed up with

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with unmanly vanity. A ſtranger to his own merit in thoſe things in which he excelled in the opinion of the world, he arrogated to himſelf praiſe in provinces for which nature had altogether rendered him unfit. With an open and generous diſpoſition, he wiſhed to be thought artful and ſevere; and blind to his abilities in the field, he endeavoured to carry the palm in the cabinet. To mention to him the deſigns of his brother, was a ſatire upon his penetration; to ſuggeſt to him caution, was, in his eyes, an accuſation of his courage. He looked not around him into the conduct of others; and he abhorred every enquiry into his own. Under the ſhadow of this careleſs and arrogant vanity in Morâd, his brother fabricated at leiſure his own deſigns. But his exceſſive eagerneſs to heighten the deceit, was the means of its being diſcovered. Morâd himſelf ſaw through the veil of flattery which he had laid over his ambitious views; but the vanity, which at firſt induced him to give faith to Aurungzêbe, made him afterwards deſpiſe his inſincerity. He fell at laſt a victim to his own arrogant folly.

and riſe

Aurungzêbe, however, owed not altogether his ſucceſs either to his own hypocriſy, or to the weakneſs of his brother. Naturally averſe to pomp and magnificence, he affected all his life that humble deportment which brings the prince near to the people. Without being virtuous from principle, he was an enemy to vice from conſtitution; and he never did an act of injuſtice, till he aſpired to the throne. In his private character, he was an example of decency to others; an affectionate parent, a ſincere friend, a juſt maſter. Deſtitute of that elegance of perſon, and that winning behaviour which had rendered his brothers the idols of the people wherever they moved, he endeavoured to acquire a degree of popularity by the auſterity of his manners. Like the reſt of the family of Timur, he was bred up with very free no-

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tions upon the ſubject of religion; but various circumſtances induced him afterwards to aſſume the appearance of a rigid devotee. His brothers, by encouraging men of all religions, had offended the followers of Mahommed. The poſterity of thoſe Moguls, who under Baber conquered India, and ſoldiers of fortune from Tartary and Perſia, occupied the greateſt number of the places of profit and truſt in the empire. Theſe could not ſee, without envy, men of different perſuaſions from themſelves, admitted into the confidence of princes who ſtill profeſſed the Mahommedan faith. Though ſilent at court, they murmured in ſecret; and lamented the declining ſtate of a religion, under the auſpices of which they had extended their government over India. Aurungzêbe, by his rigid adherence to the tenets inculcated in the Coran, gained the eſteem of all thoſe, who, if the expreſſion may be uſed, were the chains which kept together the nations of Hindoſtan under the houſe of Timur. But the influence which Aurungzêbe derived from his devotion did not, for many years, ſuggeſt an ambition to aſpire to the empire. He only hoped, that under the cloke of ſanctity, he might paſs in ſafety his life under any of his brothers, whom Fortune might place on the throne.

of Aurungzêbe.

That ſpecious appearance, which the actions of a man of religion muſt wear in the eyes of the world, facilitated his ſchemes. In his long march from the Decan, his troops obſerved a moſt exact diſcipline. No ravages were committed; no injuſtice done. When he ſat down with his army in a field of corn, he either paid the eſtimated value to the owners, or gave a receipt for it as a part of the revenue due to the crown. "Though I am forced," ſaid he, "into a war by the machinations of Dara, I cannot conſider myſelf as in an enemy's country." When the people came to decide their differences before him, he remanded them to the officers of the empire. "Fortune," he was heard to ſay, "may change the prince, but the fundamental laws of the ſtate muſt not be changed. Should I fail in my preſent enterprize," continued he to the petitioners, "my judgment would not avail you, nay, it would do you harm with the conquerors. But if I ſhall ſucceed in my undertakings, I promiſe to acquieſce in the determinations of the Imperial judges." Theſe moderate ſentiments contributed to reconcile the minds of the people to his government; and even induced them to aſcribe the moſt wicked of his actions to neceſſity.

Intelligence concerning his acceſſion.

When the news of his having mounted the throne arrived at Agra, the governor filled every corner of the city with public demonſtrations of joy. The people were rather ſtruck with ſurprize, than moved with gladneſs. They, however, obſerved that cautious ſilence which ſuits the ſubjects of deſpotiſm. The noiſe of the artillery on the walls of the citadel, ſaluted the old emperor's ears, and rouzed him from the melancholy into which he had been plunged by his misfortunes. "Go, Jehanâra," he ſaid, for his daughter was the only perſon near him; "go, and learn the cauſe of this ſudden mark of joy! But why ſhould we enquire? The gladneſs of thoſe who ſurround us, muſt add to our grief. Some new misfortune muſt have fallen on Dara; look not abroad, leſt the firſt object to ſtrike your eyes, ſhould be the head of a brother whom you tenderly loved." Jehanâra, burſting into tears, aroſe; and, in the paſſage which led to the haram, was met by the chief eunuch, who was haſtening to the emperor with the news.

The eyes of Shaw Jehân flaſhed with rage. He roſe—he walked to and fro through the apartment, but he uttered not one word. His daughter ſat at a diſtance in tears; he raiſed his

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eyes, and looked ſtedfaſtly for ſome time on the figure of a crown which hung ſuſpended from the ceiling over his head. He called at length the chief eunuch; "Take," ſaid he, "that bauble away; it mocks me with the memory of my former condition." The tear ſtood in his eye: "Yet ſtay thy hand," reſumed the emperor; "this would be owning the right of Aurungzêbe." He beckoned to the eunuch to retire: he ſtood involved in thought. "The new emperor, Jehanâra," ſaid Shaw Jehân, "has prematurely mounted his throne. He ſhould have added the murder of a father to the other crimes which have raiſed him ſo high. But this perhaps is alſo art; he wants to deprive me, by miſrepreſentation, of what remains of my fame, before he deprives me of life."

How received by Shaw Jehân.

Whilſt Shaw Jehân was making theſe melancholy reflections on his own loſt condition, a meſſage was brought to him from Mahommed, the eldeſt ſon of Aurungzêbe, who had remained at Agra. He begged leave to have permiſſion to wait upon his grandfather. The emperor, ſtarting from his reverie at the name of Mahommed, replied to the meſſenger, "If he comes as an enemy, I have no power to prevent him; if as a friend, I have now no crown to beſtow;" alluding to his offer to Mahommed, when that prince ſeized the citadel. The meſſenger told him, That Mahommed wiſhed only to be admitted to communicate to the emperor the reaſons which induced his father to mount the throne. Fathers," replied Shaw Jehân, "have been dethroned by their ſons; but to inſult the misfortunes of a parent, was left for Aurungzêbe. What reaſon but his ambition has the rebel for aſſuming the empire? To liſten to his excuſes, would be to acknowledge the juſtice of his conduct, by ſhewing, by my weakneſs, that I could no longer wield the ſcepter which he has ſtruck from my hand."——Mahommed retired.

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Hig. 1068.

Reflections

Though the power of Shaw Jehân had, in a great meaſure, terminated with the ſickneſs which rouzed his ſons to arms, his reign may be ſaid to have continued till Aurungzêbe mounted the throne near Delhi. He held the ſcepter of India thirty ſolar years, five months and two days; and when he was dethroned, he had arrived at the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. The means by which Shaw Jehân obtained the empire of the Moguls, were not more juſtifiable than thoſe which he ſo much blamed in Aurungzêbe. He rebelled againſt his father, and he permitted his relations to be ſacrificed to his fears. When he had ſecured to himſelf the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the empire, he became an excellent and a humane, as well as an able prince. During his long reign, we hear of no private aſſaſſinations, no public executions, no arbitrary injuſtice, no oppreſſion. Rebellion, which generally riſes from tyranny, was unknown; univerſal peace was eſtabliſhed on the undeviating juſtice and clemency of the emperor. His government was vigorous without ſeverity, impartial, dignified, and ſudden in its determinations. He received complaints with well-weighed caution; and never paſſed judgment till both parties were heard. His pervading eye travelled to the moſt diſtant corners of his empire. He traced oppreſſion to its moſt ſecret retreats; and, though a lover of money, no ſum could protect offenders from his juſtice. Theft and robbery were, by his prudent regulations, eradicated from his extenſive empire. The governors of the provinces were directed by an edict, to pay out of their private fortunes, the loſſes of the ſubject in that way; which were aſcertained upon oath in a court of juſtice. The ſentence of the judge was a warrant for the money upon the Subas, which they were forced immediately to pay; otherwiſe they were, upon complaint to the emperor, turned out of their governments, and ſeverely fined.

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Shaw Jehân was handſome in his perſon, active in all the manly exerciſes, affable and agreeable in his converſation. He did not, like his father, deſcend too much from the dignity of a prince, nor involve himſelf in an obſcure diſtance and reſerve. Warm in his conſtitution, he loved the company of women; though the charms of the daughter of Aſiph, the mother of almoſt all his children, kept poſſeſſion of his affections during her life. His learning was ſuch as was common among the princes of the houſe of Timur; a thorough knowledge of the Arabian and Perſian languages, the arts of writing and ſpeaking with elegance and propriety, the ſtudy of hiſtory, of the Coran, of the laws and canons of his predeceſſors, of the art of government, financiering, and of the ancient uſages of the empire. Though eclipſed by the extraordinary abilities of Mohâbet in war, he was a good general, and an excellent ſoldier. His reputation was ſo high in that reſpect, that he not only kept his own dominions in peace at home, but even made extenſive conqueſts abroad. Rapid in all his meaſures, he cruſhed rebellion before it deſerved the name; for to ſuſpect it in any man, was with him to be prepared. A lover of pleaſure, without being its ſlave, he never neglected buſineſs for ſenſuality; and induſtry, wealth and commerce flouriſhed under the certain protection and vigilance of his government. Had he not fallen in ſome meaſure from the ſtate of reaſon and ſenſibility, by the rage of that cruel diſorder which he inherited from his father, he might have deſcended from the throne to his grave, and have crowned his latter days with that luſtre which had covered his reign. But his mind was weakened by diſeaſe; and his age was devoted to melancholy and miſery.

and character of Shaw Jehân.

Shaw Jehân was, upon the whole, a great, and if we draw a veil over his acceſſion to the throne, a good prince. But we

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muſt aſcribe his cruelty in a great meaſure to neceſſity, and the manners of his country. Ambition, among the princes of the Eaſt, is joined with the ſtronger paſſion of fear. Self-preſervation drives them on to deſperate meaſures; ſubmiſſion will not avail, and they muſt owe their lives to their valour. The throne itſelf is no ſecurity to the reigning prince, in a country where the ſucceſſion is not fixed by acknowledged and eſtabliſhed rules. Revolution and change preſent themſelves to his imagination; till aſſaſſination ſteps in, and effectually relieves him from his terrors. Shaw Jehân was not naturally cruel; but he loved his own life better than the lives of his relations. To murder, or to be murdered, was the alternative offered to him by fortune. A throne or a grave terminated his proſpects on either ſide; and when we confeſs ourſelves ſhocked at his inhumanity, we loſe half our rage in the neceſſity which impoſed upon him the meaſure. He made ſome amends for his crimes, in the ſtrict juſtice and clemency of his government; and Hindoſtan was flouriſhing and happy, till his own policy was revived by his ſons.

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. I.

Reflections—Misfortunes of Solimân Shekô—His flight to Serinagûr—Diſtreſs, irreſolution, and flight of Dara—He quits the Suttuluz—the Bea—and Lahore—Aurungzêbe returns—Preparations and march of Suja—Approach of Aurungzêbe—The battle of Kidgwâ—Defeat and flight of Suja—Unaccountable conduct of the Marâja—His flight—Aurungzêbe arrives at Agra—Writes to his father.

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Reflections.

THE confinement of the emperor, and the ſeizure of the perſon of Morâd, opened a fair field for the ambition of Aurungzêbe. To diſguiſe longer his ſerious deſigns on the empire, would, from the improbability of the thing, be imprudent. He however covered his love of power with profeſſions of neceſſity; and ſtill lamented the occaſion which had burdened his head with a crown. This ſpecious conduct, though too obvious in its deſign to deceive, derived an advantage from its modeſt appearance; and men forgot his deviations from virtue, in the opinion that he was aſhamed of his crimes. Having ſubdued the paſſion of vanity before he gave the rein to ambition, he appeared inſenſible of his own exaltation. His humility ſeemed to encreaſe upon the throne to ſuch a degree, that even thoſe who could not approve of his meaſures, were at a loſs to what they ought to aſcribe his conduct. Averſe to pleaſure, and contemning pomp and magnificence, the obvious inducements to the ſeizing of the ſcepter were wanting to Aurungzêbe; but his active mind found, in its own vigour, a kind of right to command mankind.

Solimân

The new emperor had ſcarce mounted the throne near Delhi, when he was alarmed with intelligence of the march of Solimân, by the ſkirts of the northern mountains, to join his father Dara at Lahore. We loſt ſight of that prince in the midſt of his mutinous army, near Allahabâd. The principal nobles who had attended him in his ſucceſsful expedition againſt Suja, deſerted his ſtandard at the firſt news of his father's defeat. The confinement of Shaw Jehân deprived him of more of his followers; but a number, ſufficient to deſerve the name of an army, ſtill remained in his camp. Though bold and unconcerned in action, Solimân was ſubject to political fears. The news of repeated misfortunes came daily from every quarter. He became perplexed and undeciſive: various expedients preſented themſelves to his view, but he could fix on none. His firſt reſolution was to return to Bengal; but, dubious of ſucceſs againſt Suja with a reduced and diſpirited army, he dropt that deſign, and gave himſelf up again to wavering ſchemes. He had none to adviſe him; and his own mind afforded no reſource in diſtreſs. When intelligence of the march of the confederate princes from Agra arrived in his camp, he thought of ſurpriſing the capital, and, by releaſing his grandfather, to add the weight of that monarch's name to his declining cauſe. He decamped, but his evil ſtars prevailed. He changed his courſe, and directed his march to Lahore.

deſerted

The undeciſive meaſures of Solimân were known to his troops. They began to deſpiſe the authority of one who could not perſevere in any plan. All diſcipline became relaxed. The independance of the ſoldier roſe with his contempt of his general. Regularity was loſt in licentiouſneſs; confuſion, rapine and inſolence prevailed; and the whole army, inſtead of obeying the prince, placed a merit in their not deſerting his cauſe. That intrepidity and firmneſs which was neceſſary to the occaſion, no longer remained in Solimân. His ſtandard had been left by thoſe whom he thought his beſt friends, and a melancholy diſtruſt prevailed in his mind. To correct the licence of the ſoldiery, was to loſe their ſupport. He permitted them, with a vain hope of conciliating their affections, to ravage the country at large. But when they had loaded themſelves with ſpoil, they deſerted in whole ſquadrons, to ſecure their wealth at home, and to avoid the doubtful chance of war.

by his army;

Deſtitute of all authority, the prince moved along, ſullen and ſilent, at the head of an army converted into a mob of banditti. He iſſued out no orders, under a certainty of their not being obeyed; and he even looked with indifference on the gradual decline in the number of his followers. Every morning preſented to his eyes at a diſtance, whole ſquadrons that had quitted his camp in the night. There only remained at laſt four thouſand miſerable wretches, who had ſuffered themſelves to be robbed of their booty. Fear, and not attachment, kept theſe round the ſtandard of Solimân. Their rapine had converted the whole country into an enemy, and there was no longer any ſafety in deſertion. They, however, marked their march with ruin, and covered their rear with the ſmoke of villages, which they had plundered and ſet on fire.

takes

Aurungzêbe received certain intelligence of the deſtructive rout of Solimân through the countries of Shinwâra and Muchlis-pour. He detached Fidai Chan with a conſiderable force to interrupt his march. Shaiſta, who had been left in the government of Agra, was ordered with troops, by a different rout, to prevent the eſcape of the prince by the road through which he had come. He was in no condition to cope with either of thoſe lords. He turned his

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march to the north, and entered the almoſt impervious country of Serenagûr, where the Ganges iſſues from the mountains into the plains of India. Pirti Singh, the Raja, received the unfortunate fugitive with kindneſs and reſpect. He ſent his own troops to guard the paſſes, and permitted the forces of Solimân to encamp in his valleys, to recover from the fatigues of a tedious march. Aurungzêbe, upon receiving advices of the eſcape of the prince, recalled Fidai to the Imperial camp, and ordered Shaiſta to his government of Agra.

refuge

Safe in the hoſpitality of the prince of Serinagûr, Solimân remained ſhut up in a ſecluded country. The mountains, which protected him from the enemy, prevented him from hearing of the fate of his friends. He became anxious and thoughtful, and diſcovered neither pleaſure nor amuſement in the rural ſports purſued by others through the romantic vallies which formed the dominions of the Raja. He loved to walk alone; to dive into the thickeſt woods; to mix his complaints with the murmur of torrents, which, falling from a thouſand rocks, filled the whole country with an agreeable noiſe. One day, as the prince wandered from his party, he entered a narrow valley formed by one of the ſtreams which fall headlong from the impaſſable mountains that environ Serinagûr. In the center of the valley there ſtood a mound almoſt covered with trees; through the branches of which appeared undiſtinctly what ſeemed an Indian pagod. The ſtream, divided into two, ſurrounded the mound, and appeared to have worn away the foundations of the rock, on which the building ſtood; which circumſtance rendered it inacceſſible on every ſide. Solimân, pleaſed with this romantic ſcene, rode forward, and found that what he had miſtaken for a temple, was a houſe of pleaſure belonging to the Raja. Thither that prince often retired, with a few attendants, to enjoy the company of ſome Caſhmirian women of exquiſite beauty. Some of theſe were walking on the terrace when Solimân approached. He was ſtruck with their perſons; but he inſtantly retired.

in Serinagûr.

When he returned to the reſidence of the Raja, he mentioned his adventure to that prince. His countenance was ſuddenly overcaſt, and he remained for ſome time ſilent. He at length ſaid, "All my dominions have I given up to Solimân, yet he has intruded upon one little valley which I reſerved for myſelf." Solimân excuſed his conduct by his ignorance; but though the Raja pretended to be ſatisfied, there appeared from that day forward a manifeſt change in his behaviour. He became cold and diſtant; and he was diſcontented and agitated when the fugitive prince came before him. Jealouſy, however, was not the cauſe of this alteration. Aurungzêbe had applied to him through his emiſſaries; and the honour of that prince contended with his avarice. Solimân became uneaſy at the doubtful gloom which hung on his countenance. He encamped, with his few followers, at ſome diſtance from the Raja's reſidence; and he began to watch narrowly the conduct of a prince, whom he ſtill called his protector and friend.

Irreſolution

When Solimân entered the mountains of Serinagûr, he diſpatched a meſſenger with the news of his misfortunes to his father Dara. That prince was encamped, with a conſiderable army, on the banks of the Suttuluz. When he received the letters of his ſon, he ſhut himſelf up in his tent, and gave way to melancholy reflections on his own misfortunes. The impriſonment of his father was an event, which, as it was expected, did not ſurprize him; but the deſertion of the victorious army under his ſon, was a ſevere ſtroke to his declining fortunes. H even had conceived hopes from the preſence of Solimân, whoſe activity and fame in war might revive the drooping ſpirits of his party. But he was

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ſhut up within impervious mountains; and the enemy had occupied all the paſſes. Dara was left to his own reſources, and they failed, in the diſtreſſed ſituation of his mind. He reflected on the paſt with regret; he looked forward to the future with fear. Agitated by various paſſions, he could fix upon no determined expedient to extricate himſelf from misfortune; and a panic began to ſeize his troops from the irreſolute undeciſiveneſs of his conduct.

of Dara.

Aurungzêbe, who had his ſpies in the camp of Dara, was no ſtranger to the ſituation of his mind. To add to his panic, he marched from Karnal on the fifteenth of Auguſt, and directed his courſe toward Lahore. Dara, who had remained irreſolute on the banks of the Suttuluz, decamped, upon the news of the enemy's approach, with precipitation. The advanced guard of Aurungzêbe paſſed the river without oppoſition; and Dara ſat down with his army behind the Bea, on the road to Lahore, to which city he himſelf ſoon after retired, leaving the troops under the conduct of Daood Chan, an able and experienced officer. Dara had great reſources in the provinces behind Lahore. The governors had ſtill remained faithful to the old emperor; the revenues of the preceding year had not been paid; and the prince found a conſiderable ſum in the Imperial treaſury at Lahore. He ſoon raiſed twenty thouſand horſe, and his activity had begun to change the aſpect of his affairs. But he had hitherto been unſucceſsful: and he judged of the future by the paſt. He was diſturbed by the news of the approach of a part of the army of Aurungzêbe, who, having conſtructed a bridge on the Suttuluz, were on full march to the Bea.

He retreats from the Bea.

Daood, whom Dara had left at the head of the troops on the Bea, had lined the banks with artillery, and thrown up entrenchments and redoubts, with a firm aſſurance of ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy. The rainy ſeaſon was now come on, and he was under no apprehenſions of not being able to keep the enemy for five months at bay. The northern provinces might, in the mean time, furniſh Dara with an army of hardy ſoldiers. Mohâbet, who commanded in Cabul, was in his intereſt; and he rivalled his predeceſſor of the ſame name in his abilities in war. But the evil genius of Dara prevailed. He ſent orders to Daood to quit his poſt. That officer was aſtoniſhed: he ſent a remonſtrance againſt the meaſure to the prince, and the jealous mind of Dara ſuſpected his fidelity. Poſitive orders were ſent: Daood reluctantly obeyed. The prince, finding himſelf wrong in his ſuſpicions, repented of his conduct. He flew into a violent paſſion againſt the accuſers of Daood, and he ordered that officer back to his poſt. It was now too late. The advanced guard of the enemy had croſſed the Bea; and Aurungzêbe, with the main body, arrived on the Suttuluz on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt.

Heſitates about giving battle,

Dara, reflecting on the folly of his paſt conduct, and the preſſure of the preſent time, was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Chan Jehân, who commanded the enemy, had been reinforced by a body of troops and a train of artillery from the main body. Daood adviſed the prince to give battle, to confirm the courage of his troops by the defeat of a force ſo much inferior in point of numbers. The prince was obſtinate. He alleged, that though his army was more numerous than the enemy, they were not equal to them in diſcipline; that, ſuddenly gathered together, they had not been habituated to danger; and that to engage the rebels, for ſo he affected to call the abettors of Aurungzêbe, would be to haſten the completion of their wiſhes, by giving them an eaſy victory. "But, Daood!" continued he, "I am not only unfortunate, but weak. Had I followed your advice, and kept poſſeſſion of the

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Suttuluz and Bea, I might have at leaſt ſuſpended, for ſome months, the fate of the empire. But I, who have been ſo often deceived by my brothers, am become diſtruſtful of my friends."

and flies from Lahore.

Daood endeavoured to comfort the prince, by obſerving, that though the reputation of keeping a victorious enemy at bay during the rainy ſeaſon, might contribute to change the face of affairs, yet ſtill there were hopes. That to remain at Lahore without obtaining a victory, would be as improper as it appeared impoſſible; that ſtill they had rivers which might be defended againſt the whole force of Aurungzêbe; and that if the prince ſhould be pleaſed to blot all unworthy ſuſpicions from his mind, he himſelf would undertake to give him ſufficient time to collect a force in the provinces beyond the Indus. Dara embraced him with tears, and began to retreat. The army, diſcouraged at the apparent irreſolution of their commander, began to fear for themſelves. Having loſt all confidence in the abilities of the prince, they ſaw nothing before them but diſtreſs to him, and ruin to themſelves. They deſerted in whole ſquadrons; and the unfortunate Dara ſaw his numbers hourly diminiſhing as he advanced toward Moultân. The van of the enemy under Chan Jehân hung cloſe on the heels of the fugitive, and his friends throughout the empire gave all their hopes to the wind.

Several nobles ſubmit

Aurungzêbe arriving on the Suttuluz, was informed of the flight of Dara. His apprehenſions from that quarter vaniſhed, and he encamped for ten days on the banks of the river to refreſh his army. The Maraja, who had given the firſt battle to Aurungzêbe near the city of Ugein, thinking the affairs of Dara deſperate, came to the camp with a tender of his allegiance. A number of the nobility, who had hitherto remained firm to the old emperor, haſtened to the court of the new, and proſtrated themſelves

ſelves at the foot of the throne. Aurungzêbe received them with unconcern, and told them that the ſeaſon of forgiveneſs was paſt. "When Fortune," ſaid he, "hung doubtful over my arms, you either abetted my enemies, or waited in ſecurity for the deciſion of Fate concerning the empire. Theſe," pointing to his nobles, "ſerved me in my diſtreſs. I reward them with my confidence; but I grant you, in pardoning your lives, a greater favour than thoſe I conferred on them. Neceſſity gives me your obedience: let your generoſity convince me that you are ſincere. My enemies have diſſipated the treaſures of the empire, and I, who hope long to manage its affairs, will not impoveriſh it by heavy exactions. Your wealth is great. Juſtice, which in affairs of ſtate follows fortune, gives me a right to the whole; but my moderation only claims a part." They paid large ſums to the treaſury, and a general indemnity paſſed, under the ſeals of the empire.

to Aurungzêbe.

The haughty ſpirit of the Maraja revolted at the indignity of a cold reception. He however had gone too far to recede. Naturally averſe to the ſubtle character of Aurungzêbe, he had actually performed the promiſe which he had made to his high-ſpirited wife after his defeat. He collected an army, and was about to purſue Aurungzêbe, when the misfortunes of Dara began. The loſs of the battle near Agra ſtaggered his allegiance; he became more irreſolute after the impriſonment of Shaw Jehân; and the flight of Dara to Lahore, threw him at the feet of the new emperor. He told Aurungzêbe, That being of a religion which inculcated the belief of a Providence as ſuperintending over human affairs, he was now under no doubts concerning the ſide on which the gods had declared themſelves. It were therefore, continued he, a kind of impiety to oppoſe him whom Heaven has placed on the throne. Aurungzêbe pleaſantly replied, "I am glad to owe to the religion what I hoped not from the love of Jeſſwint Singh."

The

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Jumla arrives at court.

The viſier Meer Jumla, who at the beginning of the rebellion had ſubmitted to a political imprisonment in the Decan, ſeeing the affairs of Aurungzêbe in too good a condition to demand a continuance of his double conduct, broke his fictitious chains, and preſented himſelf at court. The new emperor received him with every mark of honour and affection. He preſented him with elephants, horſes, riches, dreſſes, and arms; but of his whole fortune, which, to keep up appearances, had been confiſcated, he only returned about fifty thouſand roupees. "In ſerving the ſtate," ſaid Aurungzêbe, "I have expended your fortune; but you, in ſerving it again, may acquire another." Jumla made no reply, but ſeemed ſatisfied with his eſcape from the critical ſituation in which he had been plunged by the civil war. A field ſoon preſented itſelf to his abilities; and his fortune was amply reſtored by the unabating favour of his ſovereign.

Aurungzêbe marches to Moultân.

Intelligence arriving in the Imperial camp that Dara had taken the rout of Moultân, Aurungzêbe croſſed the Suttuluz on the fifth of September. He advanced with rapid marches toward that city, wiſhing to put an end to the war in the north. Chan Jehân, who commanded the vanguard, arriving in Moultân, the unfortunate prince fled toward Bicker, and the mountains beyond the Indus. In vain had it been remonſtrated to him by his followers, that he ought to have taken the rout of Cabul. Mohâbet, who had been always averſe to Aurungzêbe, was at the head of a diſciplined army in that province. Aids might be drawn from the weſtern Tartary; there was even a proſpect of Perſia's eſpouſing the cauſe of Dara. Soldiers of fortune, men adapted by their manners and climate for the field, would flock to his ſtandard. But Fortune had forſaken Dara, and ſhe was followed by Prudence. Aurungzêbe, when he firſt heard of the courſe of his brother's flight, cried out, in an ecſtacy of joy, "That the war was at an end." He detached eight thouſand horſe, under the conduct of Meer Baba, after the fugitive, and moved his camp on his return toward Agra.

Cauſe of his return.

Many cauſes concurred in making Aurungzêbe anxious to return to Agra. The force left in that city was ſmall; and Shaiſta, who commanded there, was no great ſoldier. The troops, though ſilent, had not yet reconciled their minds to the force uſed againſt the perſon of Morâd; and they were, in ſome meaſure, ſhocked at the emperor's breach of faith to a friend as well as a brother. Shaw Jehân, though cloſely confined, had his emiſſaries and friends every where. Whiſpers concerning the unworthy uſage of that great prince were carried round, and heard with attention. Many of the nobles raiſed by his favour reſpected him ſtill for what he had been; and the empire, in general, which had flouriſhed under his government, lamented the cloud which had ſettled on the latter end of a life of renown. The Maraja was ſtill his friend. Proud and haughty beyond meaſure, he could not forget his defeat by Aurungzêbe, and he was chagrined at the cold reception which that prince had lately given to his proffered allegiance. Joy Singh, who had in a manner betrayed Solimân, thought alſo that he was not well requited for his ſervices. He was ſtill attached to Shaw Jehân, whoſe open and manly behaviour upon every occaſion he compared with advantage to the cold duplicity of his ſon.

Preparations.

Suja, who firſt appeared in arms againſt Dara, ſaw now a more dangerous enemy in another brother. The loſs which he had ſuſtained againſt Solimân was ſoon recovered in the rich and populous kingdom of Bengal. He ſaw a new cloud forming which was to burſt upon him, and he prepared himſelf againſt the ſtorm. He collected an army with his uſual activity, and was on the point of

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taking the rout of Agra, to relieve his father from confinement. To deceive Aurungzêbe, he had congratulated that prince on his mounting the throne at Delhi; he owned his title, and only ſolicited for a continuance of his government over Bengal. The emperor was not to be deceived. He ſaw the views of mankind in their ſituation and character, and took profeſſions of friendſhip from rivals for mere ſounds. He however had behaved with his uſual civility to the meſſenger of Suja. He pretended to be anxious about knowing the ſtate of his health, and he made a minute inquiry concerning his children and family. "As for a new commiſſion to my brother," ſaid he, "it is at once unneceſſary and improper. I myſelf am but my father's vicegerent in the empire; and I derive my whole power from thoſe infirmities which have rendered THE EMPEROR unfit for the buſineſs of the ſtate." This anſwer, though not ſatisfactory, amuſed Suja, and furniſhed an opportunity for Aurungzêbe to break the power of Dara, and to eſtabliſh his own authority.

of Suja.

Suja, at length, threw off the maſk; from a ſubject to Aurungzêbe, he became his competitor for the empire. He begun his march with a numerous army, accuſtoming them to the manœuvres of the field as he moved. His brother, who expected the ſtorm, was not ſurpriſed at its approach. He remained but four days at Moultân. His ſon Mahommed was made governor of that province; that of Punjâb was conferred on Chillulla. He outſtripped his army in expedition; and on the twenty-fourth of October he entered Lahore. He arrived at Delhi on the twenty-firſt of November; and notwithſtanding the preſſure of his affairs in the ſouth, he celebrated his birth-day in that city, having entered the forty-firſt year of his age. The ſplendid and numerous appearance of the nobility on that occaſion, convinced Aurungzêbe, who always made judicious obſervations on the behaviour of mankind, that he was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne which he had uſurped. The nobles moſt remarkable for their penetration, were the firſt to pay their reſpects: they ſaw the abilities of the reigning prince; they were no ſtrangers to the inferiority of his brothers; and they conſidered Fortune as only another name for Prudence. Daood, who had adhered hitherto to Dara, forſook that prince when he took, contrary to his advice, the rout of Bicker. He threw himſelf at the feet of Aurungzêbe; who, knowing his abilities, received him with diſtinction, and raiſed him to the rank of ſix thouſand horſe.

Preparations of Aurungzêbe.

During the few days which Aurungzêbe paſſed at Delhi, he informed himſelf minutely of the force and reſources of Suja. That prince was more formidable than the emperor had imagined. To inſure ſucceſs, he ordered his ſon Mahommed to join him with the army from Moultân, and he reſolved to avail himſelf of the great parts of Jumla. That lord had been ſent, ſoon after his arrival at court, to ſettle the affairs of Chandeiſh and Guzerat, and he was ordered to return with ſome of the veteran troops ſtationed on the ſouthern frontiers of the empire. The emperor, in the mean time, having arrived at Agra, reinforced the garriſon of that city under Shaiſta; being apprehenſive of an invaſion under prince Solimân, from the mountains of Serinagûr. He himſelf took immediately the field; and moved ſlowly down the Jumna, in hourly expectations of reinforcements from the north and weſt.

Suja on full march.

Suja, in the mean time, with a numerous army, was in full march toward the capital. He arrived at Allahabâd; and having remained a few days in the environs of that place, he renewed his march, and encamped his army, in a ſtrong poſition, at a place called Kidgwâ, about thirty miles from Allahabâd. Diſtruſtful

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of the diſcipline of his army, he entrenched himſelf, and waited for the arrival of Aurungzêbe; whom he wiſhed to engage with an advantage which might ſupply the inferiority of his troops, in point of courage and hardineſs. But Aurungzêbe ſtudiouſly protracted the time. His march was deſignedly ſlow, till he was joined by his ſon Mahommed with the troops of the north. He then moved forward with great expedition; Mahommed commanding the van, conſiſting of five thouſand choſen horſe. Suja was aſtoniſhed at this ſudden vigour in his brother's meaſures; he began to fortify his camp, and to make diſpoſitions for receiving the enemy with warmth.

Fortifies his camp.

The prince Mahommed, naturally full of fire, exceeded his orders. He preſſed onward with the van, eager for a ſight of the enemy; and when he preſented himſelf before Suja, the emperor, with the army and artillery, was forty miles in the rear. He rode along the lines of the enemy, and, with unpardonable raſhneſs, ſeemed to provoke them to battle. Suja, however, for what cauſe is uncertain, took no advantage of his temerity. The prince at length encamped his ſmall army; and diſpatched a meſſenger with his obſervations on the poſition and ſtrength of the enemy. Aurungzêbe was offended at the raſhneſs of his ſon. He was, however, gentle in his reproof. "When you ſhall poſſeſs the empire, Mahommed," ſaid he, "you muſt protect it with more caution. A monarch ought to be a general rather than a partizan; and few forget folly in valour." The haughty ſpirit of the prince was impatient of rebuke. Active, gallant, and fiery, he deſpiſed the ſlow dictates of Prudence; and would rather owe his fame to his ſword, than to political management and addreſs.

Aurungzêbe offers battle.

The Imperial ſtandard came in ſight on the thirteenth of January 1659; and Aurungzêbe encamped his army, leaving an extenſive plain, very fit for a battle, between him and the lines of Suja. He drew up his army, on the morning of the fifteenth, in two lines, advancing his artillery ſome paces in the front. About twelve o'clock the cannon began to open on both ſides. Suja had placed his artillery on a riſing-ground, and his batteries were well ſerved. He ſcoured the enemy's lines; and Aurungzêbe, who durſt not attack the trenches, was obliged to return with ſome loſs to his camp. Suja took no advantage of the retreat of his brother. He retired within his lines, and imprudently neglected to keep poſſeſſion of the riſing-ground on the right, from which his artillery had played with ſuch advantage on the enemy. Meer Jumla, who had arrived a few days before from the Decan, obſerved the negligence of Suja. He repreſented the advantage which Fortune had offered to Aurungzêbe; and that prince ordered him to take poſſeſſion of the hill in the night. Before morning appeared, Jumla threw up a redoubt on the place, and lined it with cannon; which were covered with a ſtrong party of ſpearmen.

The battle begins.

When day-light appeared, Jumla ordered his battery on the hill to open. The tents of Suja were in the range of the ſhot; and the prince was obliged immediately to ſtrike them, and to move his quarters to the left. Aurungzêbe, who perceived the commotion in the enemy's camp, on account of the unexpected fire from the battery, thought this a proper opportunity to make a general aſſault. His army were already formed; and he ordered his elephants to advance with all expedition to tread down the entrenchments. A ſtrong body of cavalry ſuſtained the charge. The defendants, already in confuſion, made but a faint reſiſtance. The elephants ſoon levelled the entrenchment, and the horſe poured into the camp. Flight, confuſion, and ſlaughter prevailed. Aurungzêbe, mounted on a lofty ele-

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phant, ſaw the appearance of victory on every ſide. He puſhed forward into the center, to render complete the advantage which he had already obtained. But Fortune took a ſudden change; and inevitable ruin ſeemed to overwhelm him and his affairs.

Treachery of the Maraja.

The Maraja, Jeſſwint Singh, having made his peace with Aurungzêbe, had joined that prince with his native troops. His defeat at Ugein remained ſtill freſh in his mind; and he longed to recover the laurels which he had loſt in that unfortunate field. He had received orders to advance with his Rajaputs; and he even made a ſhew of attacking the enemy. But when he ſaw the emperor entering their camp, he ſuddenly turned, and fled with all his forces. The Moguls, however, followed not his example. Aurungzêbe carried forward on his elephant the Imperial ſtandard; and they were aſhamed to leave it to the enemy. Jeſſwint, diſappointed in his aim of drawing his party to flight by his own, fell ſuddenly on the rear of the line. He ſeized upon the baggage; and put ſervants and women to the ſword, without either diſtinction or mercy. The noiſe of the ſlaughter behind was carried to the front, which was engaged with Suja in the center of his camp. Some fled to ſave their wives; and, cowards, wanting only an example, they were followed by thouſands. The lines began to thin apace; the attack was ſuſtained with leſs vigour; and the enemy acquired courage.

Reſolution of Suja,

Aurungzêbe exhibited upon the occaſion, that reſolute firmneſs which always riſes above misfortune. To fly was certain ruin; to remain, an almoſt certain death. He ſat aloft on his elephant, in full poſſeſſion of his own mind; and he ſeemed not to know that any diſaſter had happened in the rear. The enemy, who had been tumultuouſly hurrying out of the camp, returned with vigour to the charge, upon the ſudden change in the face of affairs. Suja, with an undaunted countenance, led the attack, ſtanding in the caſtle, upon an enormous elephant. When his eye fell upon his brother, he ordered his driver to direct the furious animal that way. One of the principal officers of Aurungzêbe, who was alſo mounted on an elephant, perceiving the intention of Suja, ruſhed in before the prince. He was overthrown in the firſt ſhock, but the elephant of Suja ſuffered ſo much in the concuſſion, that the animal ſtood trembling through every joint; having loſt all ſenſe of command, and almoſt the power of motion. The diſappointed prince ſeemed enraged at his fortune; but the elephant of one of his nobles advanced againſt that of the emperor; and, in the firſt ſhock, the latter animal fell upon his knees; and it was with great difficulty he recovered himſelf. Aurungzêbe had one foot out of the caſtle, ready to alight. The crown of India hovered on the reſolution of a moment. Meer Jumla was near, on horſeback: "Stop," ſaid he, turning ſternly to Aurungzêbe; "you deſcend from the throne." The emperor, who was now compoſed, ſeemed to ſmile at the reproof. Whilſt the animals continued to engage, the markſman, who ſat behind him, ſhot the adverſary's driver; but the enraged elephant continued, notwithſtanding, to fight. Aurungzêbe was now in imminent danger; when he was delivered from deſtruction by the reſolution of his driver. He threw himſelf dexterouſly on the neck of the other elephant, and carried him off; whilſt his own place was ſupplied by one of the officers who ſat behind the caſtle. Another elephant, in the mean time, advanced againſt Aurungzêbe; but he had the good fortune to ſhoot the driver with his own hand.

The emperor now found that his own elephant, from the many ſhocks which he had received, was much weakened and diſpirited.

and of Aurungzêbe;

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who obtains the victory. Aurungzêbe, who owed his victory to his own intrepidity, was in no condition to purſue the enemy. Night was now coming on; and he lay on the field under arms. During the action, the Maraja had defeated the party left to defend the baggage; and loading camels with the booty, ſent them off under an eſcort. He himſelf ſtill hovered round the rear. The proximity of the Imperial tents to the line, had hitherto protected them from being plundered by the Rajaputs. Night coming on, the Maraja advanced; and, about an hour after it was dark, fell upon the tents of Mahommed, who had remained with his father on the field. A few, who defended the quarter of the prince, were cut off to a man; and the Rajaputs advanced to the Imperial tents, and ſeized upon every thing valuable within the ſquare; putting every one that oppoſed them to the ſword. The night became a ſcene of horror, confuſion, and death. Aurungzêbe was not to be moved from the field; but he detached a part of the army to oppoſe the Maraja. When day appeared, the troops of Suja were no more to be ſeen; and the emperor, now convinced of his victory, turned his arms upon the Maraja. That prince ſtood his ground. A bloody battle enſued. The Rajaputs retreated; but they carried their booty away.

Suja purſued by Mahommed.

Suja fled with ſo much precipitation in the night, that he left all his tents, equipage, and artillery, on the field. His army deſerted him; and he even deſerted his army. He changed his clothes, he threw off every mark of diſtinction, and hurried forward to Patna like a private man. He feared no enemy; but he was afraid of his friends. When Fortune had forſaken him, he hoped not to retain their faith; for to deliver him to Aurungzêbe would not only procure their ſafety, but advance their intereſt. The ſun was ſcarce up, when Aurungzêbe detached ten thouſand horſe, under his ſon Mahommed, in purſuit of his brother. The enemy were ſo much diſſipated, that few were ſlain. The inſtructions of the prince were to follow Suja. He arrived at Patna, and the unfortunate prince fled to Mongeer; hoping to derive from walls that ſafety which he could not command in the field. His courage, however, forſook him not in his diſtreſs. He had ſtill reſources in his own active mind; and the whole province of Bengal was devoted to his intereſt, from the ſtrict juſtice and mildneſs of his government.

Aurungzêbe's ſpeech to his nobles.

After the flight of the Maraja and the departure of Mahommed, the emperor called together the nobility and principal officers of his army. He had marked, from his elephant, the particular behaviour of each. He puniſhed ſome for cowardice; others he promoted for valour. His reproofs were ſtrong and pointed:

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pointed; the praiſe he beſtowed manly and juſt. He, at the ſame time, made a long ſpeech from the throne. He aſſumed no merit to himſelf, he even gave up that of his army, and attributed his ſucceſs to Providence. He involved Heaven in his quarrel with his brothers; and made it the partner of his own guilt. This religious oration was received with burſts of applauſe. Mankind are in all ages and nations ſuperſtitious; and the bare profeſſion of ſanctity hides the blackeſt crimes from their eyes. Aurungzêbe, however, did not forget his temporal affairs in his devotion. Anxious for the reduction of Bengal, and for an end of the war with Suja, he detached a large body of horſe under Meer Jumla, to reinforce Mahommed, whilſt he himſelf took the rout of the capital.

A falſe report carried to Agra.

The Maraja, in the mean time, with his booty, advanced to the walls of Agra. News of the defeat of Aurungzêbe had already filled that capital with ſurprize. The appearance of the Rajaputs confirmed the report. The adherents of the new emperor began to ſhift for themſelves; and grief and joy prevailed, as men were variouſly affected to this or the other ſide. Shaiſta, who commanded in the city, was ſtruck with melancholy and deſpair. He knew the active part which he himſelf had taken for Aurungzêbe; and he could expect no favour from the conquerors. He even made attempts againſt his own life; and ſeemed indifferent about ſhutting the gates of the citadel againſt Jeſſwint Singh. That prince, though he ſuffered little in the running fight with Aurungzêbe, was ſtill afraid of the Imperial army, which followed cloſe on his heels. Had he boldly entered the city, taken advantage of the panic of Shaiſta, and releaſed Shaw Jehân, Aurungzêbe might ſtill be ruined. But the fortune of that prince was ſtill greater than his abilities.

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Aurungzêbe arrives in that city.

Aurungzêbe, apprehenſive of ſome miſchief in Agra, haſtened his march to that capital. The city was now undeceived with regard to the battle; and the Maraja, who had boaſted of the defeat of the emperor, began to fly before him. He directed his courſe to his own country; and, though incumbered with ſpoil, outſtripped his purſuers in the march. Aurungzêbe entered Agra without any pomp. He did not permit himſelf to be ſaluted by the guns of the fort. "It would be improper," ſaid he, "to triumph in the ears of a father, over the defeat of his ſon." He wrote a letter to Shaw Jehân, enquiring concerning his health; and he excuſed himſelf from coming into his preſence on account of the hurry of public affairs. He ſlightly mentioned his victory, by inſinuating that Providence, by his hands, had fruſtrated the deſigns of the enemies of the houſe of Timur. His father, who was no ſtranger to the ſituation of affairs, would not read the letter. He gave it back to the meſſenger, and ſaid, "If my ſon means to inſult me, to know it would but add to my misfortunes; if he treats me with affection and reſpect, why does he permit me to languiſh within theſe walls?"

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. II.

Dara's flight to Bicker—He croſſes the deſert—Gains the governor of Guzerat—Marches toward Agra—Fortifies himſelf at Ajmere—Deceived—attacked—and totally defeated by Aurungzêbe—His unheard-of misfortunes—Diſtreſs in the deſart—Arrival at Tatta—Throws himſelf under the protection of Jihon—Death of the Sultana—Dara betrayed—Carried with ignominy through Delhi—Confined at Chizerabâd—Aſſaſſinated—Reflections.

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Dara flies to Bicker.

DARA having fled from Moultân, took the rout of Bicker, beyond the Indus. The Imperialiſts were cloſe at his heels. His army fell off gradually in his flight. His affairs were deſperate, and their attachment gave way to perſonal ſafety. Four thouſand ſtill adhered to their colours, with which number Dara encamped near Bicker, having garriſoned the place, and ſubmitted it to the command of a faithful friend. He had ſcarce pitched his tents, when the enemy came in ſight. Though worn-out with fatigue, he was obliged to fly. He found boats by accident, and croſſed the Indus with all his followers. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the ſtrong fortreſs of Sicar. Struck with the hard fate of Dara, the governor opened the gates. But it was not the buſineſs of the prince to ſhut himſelf up within walls; which at beſt could only protract misfortune. He reinforced the garriſon with a part of his troops; and left ſome valuable effects under the protection of the governor.

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Meditates to retire to Perſia,

Diſincumbered, he betook himſelf to the open field, before he had even thought of the quarter to which he ſhould direct his courſe. He wandered away in a melancholy mood. His faithful adherents, for only thoſe whoſe attachment to his perſon overcame their own fears were now in his train, followed ſilently the path of a maſter whom they loved. Having marched a few miles, the prince came to the place where the road parted into two; the one leading to Tatta, the other toward the Perſian province of Choraſſan. Starting from his reverie, he ſtood for ſome time irreſolute. On the one ſide there was apparent ruin; on the other, a certainty of perſonal ſafety. But glory was blended with diſgrace in the firſt; in the latter there was nothing but obſcurity and diſhonour. When he weighed theſe things in his mind, the chariots in which were his women arrived. His perplexity increaſed. The deſart toward Perſia was extenſive and unhoſpitable; on the ſide of India, his own misfortunes muſt overwhelm his family. He could not decide; and a melancholy ſilence prevailed around.

but changes his courſe to Tatta.

The favourite Sultana, ſeeing the undeciſiveneſs of Dara, at length put an end to his doubts. "Can the firſt of the race of Timur," ſhe ſaid, "heſitate in this moment of diſtreſs? There is danger, but there may be alſo a throne on one ſide; but a frightful ſolitude, and the cold reception given to fugitive princes by ſtrangers, threaten from the other. If Dara cannot decide, I, who am the daughter of Purvêz, will decide for myſelf. This hand ſhall prevent me, by death, from diſhonour. The deſcendant of the immortal Timur ſhall not grace the haram of the race of Sheick Sefi!" The features of the prince were at once lighted up into a kind of mournful joy. He burſt into tears; and, without uttering a word, ſpurred forward his horſe toward Tatta. He had not remained many days in that city, when he

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received advices that a conſiderable detachment of the enemy was arrived within a few miles of the place. He evacuated Tatta, croſſed the Indus, and fled toward the capital of Guzerat. The enemy laid a bridge of boats over the river; and were preparing to purſue the fugitive, when unexpected orders arrived for them to repair with all expedition to join the Imperial army, in full march againſt Suja.

Croſſes the deſart,

The removal of the Imperial troops procured a happy reſpite for Dara; but it was but a tranſient gleam of Fortune, who had reſolved to continue her frowns. The road of the prince lay partly through burning ſands, deſtitute of water; partly through abrupt mountains, covered with impervious woods, the haunts of beaſts of prey. His people were parched with thirſt; his very camels died of fatigue. His unfortunate women were juſt expiring for want of water, when the prince, who ranged the ſolitudes far and wide, lighted on a ſpring. He encamped near it; and having refreſhed his attendants, arrived next day on the borders of the territories of the Raja's Jâm and Bahâra, which lay contiguous to each other in his rout. They received him with hoſpitality; but they declined to embrace his cauſe. They were the natural enemies of the houſe of Timur, who had, often from views of conqueſt, penetrated into their almoſt inacceſſible country. When perſuaſion failed, Dara endeavoured to work upon the pride of Jâm. He propoſed an alliance between his ſon Sipper Shekô, the conſtant attendant of his misfortunes, and the daughter of the Raja. The match did not take place. The few Mogul nobles who adhered to him, were ſo much diſſatisfied with the propoſal, on account of its inequality, that it was laid aſide; and Dara proceeded to Ahmedâbâd.

Shaw

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and arrives in Guzerat.

Shaw Nawâz, whoſe two daughters were married to Aurungzêbe and Morâd, had been left by the latter in the government of Guzerat, and kept his reſidence in Ahmedabâd. When Morâd was ſeized, Aurungzêbe ſent a new commiſſion to Shaw Nawâz, which that lord received, and governed his province in the name of the new emperor. He prepared to oppoſe Dara with all his forces. The match was unequal, and the prince, hemmed in with misfortunes on every ſide, began to deſpair. He, however, reſolved to carry no longer round the empire a life obnoxious to miſery. He advanced with his few attendants; and, as the laſt reſort, wrote a letter to the younger daughter of Shaw Nawâz, who was the wife of Morâd, and had been left with her father when the prince marched toward Agra. He recounted his own misfortunes; and compared them with thoſe of her huſband. "The enemy of both is one," ſaid he: "if the memory of the unfortunate Morâd ſtill lives in the breaſt of his wife, ſhe will perſuade her father to favour Dara, who is oppreſſed by the ſame untoward fate!"

Gains over the governor.

The princeſs, who had mourned inceſſantly for the misfortunes of her lord, whom ſhe loved to diſtraction, burſt into a flood of tears at the reception of the letter. She graſped at the ſhadow of hope for her huſband's releaſement, which was offered by a prince overwhelmed by his own bad fortune. She threw herſelf at the feet of her father; her tears ſuppreſſed her voice; but ſhe looked up to him with that forcible eloquence of eyes, which it is impoſſible to reſiſt from beauty in diſtreſs. She placed the letter of Dara in his hands. He read it with emotion; and turned away in ſilence. She followed him on her knees, holding the ſkirt of his robe. "Is not my daughter," ſaid he, "already ſufficiently wretched? Why does ſhe wiſh to involve her father in the irretrievable miſery which has overtaken her lord?

But ſhe will have it ſo---and prudence muſt give way to pity." He ordered the gates to be thrown open; and the princeſs, in an ecſtaſy of joy, ſent accounts of her ſucceſs to Dara.

Raiſes an army.

The prince could ſcarce believe his own eyes, when he received the letter of the wife of Morâd. A gleam of hope came in upon his misfortunes. He entered Ahmedabâd; and the governor received him with the higheſt diſtinction and reſpect. He gave to the prince about one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds in money, together with jewels to a great amount, to contribute to raiſe troops. This new life to the affairs of Dara, rendered him active in his preparations for war. In a few weeks he found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army. He in the mean time received letters from the Maraja, who, with his native troops, was on his march with Aurungzêbe to attack Suja. That prince acquainted him of his deſign of deſerting the new emperor in the action; and we have already ſeen that he kept his promiſe. He conjured Dara to haſten his march to ſupport him in his intended defection. The advice was good; but the evil genius of Dara prevailed. He delayed, that he might augment his forces; and loſt the golden opportunity of reſtoring his affairs by an act of boldneſs and intrepidity. Suja was, in the mean time, defeated; and Aurungzêbe turned his whole force toward the ſtorm which was brewing in the Weſt.

Marches toward Agra.

The deſertion of the Maraja had ſpread news of the defeat and death of Aurungzêbe to every corner of the empire. The agreeable intelligence came to Dara. He inſtantly marched toward Agra, to ſeize the capital before the arrival of Suja, who was ſaid to have conquered. In three days, the unfortunate prince was undeceived. Letters from different quarters brought him the particulars of the action, and of the complete victory obtained by his greateſt foe. He was again thrown into perplexity. To proceed with ſo ſmall a force was imprudent; to retreat, ruinous to his reputation. He had built his laſt hopes on his army; to retire, was to loſe them by deſertion. Many Europeans were in his camp. He had gained them by large promiſes; and they naturally loved that impartiality which he ſhewed indiſcriminately to men of merit of all nations. His artillery was upon the beſt footing; and he was not deſtitute of able engineers. His ſoldiers, for the moſt part conſiſting of the troops of the empire ſtationed on the frontiers, were habituated to action. But they were too few in number; and their leader was deſtined for misfortune.

Turns toward the dominions of the Maraja,

The Maraja, after plundering the Imperial camp, declared his intentions of marching to Guzerat with the ſpoil. Dara halted to take him up by his way. But the Indian had no ſerious intentions of aſſiſting effectually any branch of the houſe of Timur. An enthuſiaſt in his own religion, he conſidered all Mahommedans as his natural enemies. He abetted none of the princes through choice. He ſtudied to add fuel to the flame which raged between them, and to derive advantage from their diſſentions. He hoped to find that freedom and independence in their weakneſs, which he could never expect from their favour and power. Under the influence of theſe political principles, he ſtudiouſly avoided to meet Dara. He took the rout of Marwâr, to lodge his booty in his own dominions in ſafety. He, however, wrote letters to the prince, to advance to his borders, where he would join him with a recruited army. Dara accordingly marched toward Meirta, at which place he encamped with his forces, in daily expectations of the junction of the Maraja, who was collecting his forces at the capital of his dominions.

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Aurungzêbe was, in the mean time, alarmed at the great preparations of the Maraja. He ſaw danger in his defection; and he had recourſe to his uſual art and addreſs. He wrote to him a letter. He acquainted him, That the oppoſition given to his fortune at the battle of Ugein, had long ſince been blotted out of his memory, as it was the reſult of the Maraja's opinion in favour of Dara; that his ſubmiſſion to his government, while yet his brothers were in the field, was a conduct which entitled him to favour; but that his late deſertion in battle, and his ſubſequent attack upon the Imperial baggage, could not be forgot, though it might be forgiven. "The love of public tranquillity, however," continues Aurungzêbe, "has expelled from my breaſt every wiſh of revenge. It is therefore your intereſt, to withdraw your foot from the circle of Dara's misfortunes. That you ſhould join my ſtandard, I neither expect nor wiſh. I cannot truſt again your faith; and my own force is ſufficient to overthrow my enemies. You may therefore look from your own country, an unconcerned ſpectator of the war; and to reward you for your neutrality, the government of Guzerat ſhall be added to that of your hereditary dominions."

and deſerts Dara.

The letter had the intended effect on the Maraja. He preferred the proffered advantage to the gratitude of Dara, whoſe fortunes wore ſuch a doubtful aſpect. He broke off his correſpondence with that prince, at the very time that he was buoyed up with the hopes of the junction of a great army with his own forces. A ſtranger to the motive of the Hindoo, he ſent his ſon Sipper Shekô to endeavour to prevail upon him to throw off his inactivity. The young prince was received at his capital with diſtinction and hoſpitality. He was, however, diſappointed in his views. The Maraja would give no ſatisfactory anſwer; and the prince returned to his father, who was

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greatly diſconcerted by, this new misfortune. He, however, reſolved to heſitate no longer with his fate. He decamped and marched in a direct line for Agra; and arrived at Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

Dara fortifies himſelf at Ajmere.

In the neighbourhood of Ajmere, the high-road to the capital paſſes between two ſteep hills, each of which forms the point of an impaſſable ridge of mountains, which ſtretch far into the country on both ſides, and ſeparate the kingdom of Guzerat from the reſt of Hindoſtan. Dara halted with his army in this paſs. His high opinion of the European mode of war, which he imbibed from the Engliſh, French and Portugueſe in his ſervice, had rendered that prince fond of entrenchments. He had conſidered the appearance of ſecurity, more than the movements of the human mind: for armies often take entrenchments in no other light than as a proof of the ſuperiority of the enemy. He threw up lines from hill to hill in his front, and ſtrengthened them with artillery. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, marched with an army to ſtop his progreſs; and arrived with great expedition in the neighbourhood of Ajmere. When he came in ſight of the entrenchments, he ordered his army to encamp; and he himſelf rode out to reconnoitre the enemy.

Nothing could equal his aſtoniſhment when he viewed, through a ſpy-glaſs, the poſition of his brother. The ſtrength of the works was inconceivable; inſtead of a common entrenchment the prince had fortified himſelf with a ſtrong rampire, defended by baſtions, a deep ditch and a double row of paliſadoes, which extended ſix miles acroſs a valley. Aurungzêbe was perplexed beyond meaſure. He knew not how to act. An aſſault was evidently impracticable; to do nothing would derogate from that high opinion which he had already eſtabliſhed in the minds of the people. Every day would add to Dara's influence

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and party; and mankind, who always ſide with the unfortunate, would attribute to ability what was the gift of chance. He called a council of the nobles. They differed in their opinions; much time was ſpent in argument without coming to a deciſive meaſure. They at laſt agreed upon an expedient. They knew that the ſpirit of Dara was impatient of inſult; and they adviſed the emperor to draw out his forces, and to offer battle.

Aurungzêbe offers battle.

In compliance with the advice of his nobles, he formed his line on the 23d of March 1659, and advanced with his artillery within cannon-ſhot of the camp. Dara continued within his lines; and Aurungzêbe began to fortify himſelf under the enemy's fire. He continued the work the whole night, and covered his men before day-light appeared, notwithſtanding his brother had ſallied thrice during that time. The ſun was ſcarce riſen, when Debere, and ſome other nobles, iſſued out of the camp, and advanced on full ſpeed with five thouſand horſe near the lines; hoping, by inſulting him, to draw Dara from his lines. They paid dear for their temerity. The artillery of the enemy being well ſerved, galled the aſſailants ſo much, that they retreated in diſorder, and were glad to ſhelter themſelves behind their own lines. Things remained in this doubtful ſituation for ſeveral days. The army of Dara, having the country in their rear open, were in no want of proviſions; and were, therefore, under no neceſſity of retreating; and it was impoſſible, without a long ſiege, to overcome their almoſt impregnable lines.

His ſtratagem

Fortune, who never forſook Aurungzêbe, relieved his anxiety upon this occaſion. A petty Indian prince, who commanded three thouſand of his native infantry in the Imperial army, informed himſelf of a narrow and ſteep path, by which men, accuſtomed to climb, might aſcend the mountain on the right of Dara's lines. He communicated his information to the emperor, who was over-

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joyed at the diſcovery. He made large promiſes to the Raja, ſhould he gain, with a party, the ſummit of the mountain, without alarming the enemy. Should he be ſo fortunate as to ſucceed in the attempt, he was ordered to make a ſignal to the emperor from that ſide of the mountain which was covered from Dara. When night came on, he marched with his troops. Having encountered many difficulties, he aſcended the mountain, and the appointed ſignal was ready to be ſhewn by the dawn of day.

to deceive

Aurungzêbe never reſted his hopes upon the ſucceſs of a ſingle ſcheme. He had, during the night, planned the ruin of his brother's affairs, by a more fatal ſtroke of policy than the ſtratagem of the Raja. Debere Chan, and the Indian prince, Joy Singh, had, at the beginning of the war, adhered with warmth to the intereſts of Dara. Under the prince Solimân, they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the defeat of Suja, and the reduction of Bengal. Yielding to the preſſure of the times, and to the intrigues of Aurungzêbe, they deſerted, as has been already related, the colours of Solimân; and ruined all the hopes which the unfortunate Dara derived from the victorious army under his ſon. To theſe chiefs the emperor applied with much addreſs. He promiſed largely; and he mixed threats with his proffered favour. He at length prevailed upon them to write an inſidious letter to Dara, to the following purpoſe:

Dara.

"It is not unknown to the emperor," for with that title they affected to diſtinguiſh Dara, "that Debere and Joy Singh once deemed it their greateſt glory to be numbered among his ſervants. With how much fidelity they obeyed his orders, they derive a proof from their actions, under the command of the illuſtrious prince Solimân Shekô. So much ſatisfied was Dara with the conduct of his faithful ſervants, that, in his letters, which were

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preſented to us by the prince, he attributed the victory over Suja to our conduct and valour. The emperor was partial in our favour; but we preſume to hope, we deſerved a part of his praiſe. When the news of the defeat of our prince, and of the impriſonment of the king of kings, came to our ears, we thought ourſelves alone amidſt the victorious armies of our foes. What could we do? Our loyalty remained, but neceſſity was near. The times left us no choice, and we were forced to ſubmit. We have ever ſince been dragged along, the unwilling ſlaves of Aurungzêbe. But now Fortune has returned to the threſhold which leads to the preſence of Dara. The acceſſion of his faithful ſervants to his power, though not neceſſary to his affairs, will bring them to a more ſpeedy concluſion. When, therefore, daylight ſhall appear, let the gate of the camp be opened to receive us; that we may have an opportunity of regaining, by our merit, the favour, of which we have been deprived by neceſſity. As ſoon as the ſun ſhall ariſe, we look for admittance into the camp, with all our followers and friends."

Succeeds.

This letter was thrown into the lines, by a horſeman on full ſpeed. It was immediately carried to the prince; and, with that credulity which is inherent in a ſincere mind, he implicitly believed every thing which the letter contained. Shaw Nawâz in vain remonſtrated to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that there was danger in confiding in their ſincerity. Dara was always averſe to advice; and now he was rendered blind by the hopes of gaining ſuch powerful chiefs to his party. He was obſtinate; and determined to riſque all on the faith of men who had, a few months before, betrayed his ſon. He gave poſitive orders, that in the morning, that gate of the camp which looked toward the enemy ſhould be thrown open, to receive the expected fugitives. He, at the ſame time, iſſued directions to all the officers, that care ſhould be taken not to fire upon them as they advanced. Shaw Nawâz was highly diſſatisfied; Mahommed Sherif, who commanded the forces, was aſtoniſhed. The orders were peremptory, and they muſt be obeyed. They, however, reſolved to ſtand upon their guard; and when morning came, they poſted themſelves, with ſeveral ſquadrons, without the lines; giving orders, at the ſame time, that all the troops in the camp ſhould ſtand to their arms.

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Aurungzêbe, who was no ſtranger to the character of Dara, foreſaw that his ſtratagem would ſucceed. He drew up his army before day, behind his own camp; being covered by the tents from the enemy's view. The ſun was not yet up, when he ordered Debere to iſſue forth from his right, and Joy Singh from his left, at the head of their troops, and to advance on full ſpeed toward the camp. Theſe officers accordingly ruſhed forth; and Aurungzêbe, to carry on the deceit, began to fire with his artillery, but with powder only, on the pretended deſerters. Dara, full of expectation, ſtood on the rampire. When he ſaw the ſquadrons advancing, he ordered the gate to be thrown open; but Mahommed Sherif, who, with a choſen body, ſtood without the lines, being ſtill dubious of the intentions of the fugitives, ordered them to ſtop, till he ſhould be ſatisfied of their real deſigns.

againſt

Debere, who firſt advanced, had no time to deliberate. A parley would diſcover the whole to his own men; he immediately ſtopt ſhort, and gave the ſignal of attack, by ſhooting Sherif, with an arrow, through the heart. That officer fell headlong to the ground; and a dreadful ſlaughter commenced, hand to hand. Debere, unmatched in that age for ſtrength and perſonal bravery, hewed on his way to the gate, which Shaw Nawâz was endeavouring to ſhut. But the thing was now impracticable, from the

that prince,

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numbers that crowded into the camp. Debere entered, ſword in hand; and Shaw Nawâz advanced to oppoſe him. The match was unequal. Debere, who reſpected the virtues, the years, the high quality of his adverſary, deſired him to ſurrender; and to fear nothing from his ſon-in-law. "I myſelf," ſaid Debere, "will intercede for Shaw Nawâz." The pride of the old lord aroſe. "No!—Debere Chan;—I have hitherto defended my life by my valour; nor ſhall I purchaſe a few years of decrepid age at the expence of my former fame." Debere, at the word, ran him through with his ſpear. With Shaw Nawâz and Sherif, the courage of Dara's army fell. The treacherous Debere was now within the camp, with his ſquadron, who, fired with the example of their leader, made a prodigious ſlaughter. Joy Singh followed cloſe on their heels.

who is totally defeated.

The emperor, in the mean time, advanced with his whole line; and the party, who had gained the ſummit of the mountain in the night, ſhewed themſelves above the camp. The hills re-echoed to their ſhouts; and they began to roll ſtones and looſened rocks into the valley. Theſe, falling from precipice to precipice, came craſhing down on the affrighted army; and they turned their eyes from the ſwords of their enemies to this new ſpecies of danger. An univerſal panic ſpread over all. Confuſion every where prevailed. Some fought, others fled, many ſtood in aſtoniſhment, without having even the courage to fly. Dara mounted his elephant to be ſeen by his army; but he himſelf ſaw nothing around but terror and death. He ruſhed forward to meet the enemy; but he was left alone. He called for Sherif; that chief was already cold in his blood: he wiſhed for the preſence of Shaw Nawâz, but his dead body preſented itſelf to his eyes. He turned back, and gave his ſoul to deſpair. The ſafety of his women came then acroſs his mind; he haſtened with them from the field;

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whilſt the ſpoils of his camp kept the enemy from purſuing his flight. Four thouſand fell on the ſide of Dara, in this extraordinary action: Aurungzêbe loſt not above two hundred; and in that number, no officer of diſtinction except Sheich Meer, the captain-general of his forces.

The misfortunes of Dara.

The grief of Dara for his defeat was great, but it was not equal to his aſtoniſhment. The misfortune, though dreadful, was unexpected, and by the ſudden ill prevented the fear. It was, however, ſucceeded by miſery, and unequalled diſtreſs. The unfortunate prince fled to the capital of Guzerat. But the governor, hom he left in the place, ſhut the gates againſt his lord. He ſat down in ſilence, and knew not whither to fly. His friends became his greateſt enemies. Two thouſand Mahrattors ſtill adhered to the unhappy prince. When they heard of the meſſage of the governor, they deſpaired of the affairs of Dara, and added their own cruelty to his misfortunes. In a pretence of having large arrears of their pay due to them, they fell upon his baggage, and plundered it in his preſence. Some caſkets of jewels were ſaved by his women; for even in that ſeaſon of licence and diſorder, their perſons were ſacred from barbarity itſelf. This outrage was committed in the night. When day-light appeared, the robbers, as if aſhamed of their conduct, fled with their ſpoil. A few only of the loweſt menial ſervants remained. Every thing was removed from the field. The miſerable tents, which he had collected in his flight, were carried away; and nothing was left but a few old ſcreens of canvaſs, which covered the Sultana and her female ſlaves from the public eye. The diſtreſs of the prince may be imagined, but cannot be deſcribed. He walked about in ſeeming diſtraction; and the ſad complaints of the women from behind their wretched covering, drew tears from the eyes of the few ſervants who ſtill adhered to their unhappy lord.

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The preſſure of his misfortunes at length awakened Dara from a melancholy reverie, in which he had ſtrayed from the place where his camp had ſtood. He returned in manifeſt diſorder; and ſeemed to queſtion every one with his eyes, about the means of moving to ſome place of ſafety. A few beaſts of burden were collected by his ſervants; and the robbers, who had deſerted and plundered his camp, had left to him the two elephants which he had brought from Ajmere. On theſe he placed all the effects which had eſcaped the ravages of the Mahrattors; and a few oxen found in a neighbouring field, dragged ſlowly away in covered carriages his women. The prince himſelf, with his ſon Cipper Shekô, attended them on horſeback, with an ill-mounted retinue of two or three hundred ſervants and faithful adherents. He turned his face to the frightful ſolitudes in which he had ſuffered ſo much before; but the parched deſarts, which ſtretched themſelves from Guzerat to the Indus, were leſs unhoſpitable to Dara than a brother's hands.

His great

The prince ſoon arrived in the territories of Raja Jâm, whoſe hoſpitality alleviated his diſtreſs. He again applied to that chief for his aid, but he was deaf to the requeſt. Dara promiſed largely, ſhould Fortune again favour his cauſe; but ſhe had taken her flight to return no more. Jâm was too prudent to throw his own fate into the ſcale of the prince. He became cold and reſerved; and ſeemed, by his manner, to wiſh for the departure of his unfortunate gueſt. He was again forced to encounter the hardſhips of the deſart. The heat of the ſeaſon had added to the natural ſterility of theſe dreadful ſolitudes. There was no water to be found; not a blade of graſs to be ſeen. The air ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, on fire. There was nothing to ſhade the deſolate travellers from the ſcorching ſun; excepting when clouds of ſand, raiſed by whirlwinds, covered them with a fatal darkneſs. The

beaſts

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beaſts of burden died for want of provender; the very camels periſhed for want of water. The favourite elephant, which had often carried Dara in all his pomp, was now the only uſeful animal that remained; and even he began to fail. To add to the misfortunes of the prince, the favourite Sultana, the mother of all his children, and whom he tenderly loved, was at the point of death. She had been ſeized with hyſterics from the fright of the battle; and had ever ſince been ſubject to violent fits. Death cut off gradually his retinue; at the end of every furlong, he was obliged to pay the laſt ſad offices to ſome favourite ſervant or friend.

diſtreſs.

When he came within ſight of Tatta, the elephant which had carried his family acroſs the deſart, worn out with fatigue and thirſt, lay down and died. The few that remained of his followers were ſo languid and ſpent, that they could not crawl to the neighbouring villages for ſuccour. Dara himſelf was obliged to execute that neceſſary ſervice. He came to a hind, who kept oxen in a field. He mentioned his diſtreſs and his name; and the clown fled from his preſence. He ſat down; having no ſtrength to return to his deſolate family. Curioſity, however, brought the the whole village around; and every eye was full of tears. They brought all their beaſts of burden to the place; and the whole country accompanied him, with ſhouts of joy, to Tatta. He, however, did not reſt long in that city. He croſſed the Indus, and threw himſelf under the protection of the petty chiefs of the diſtrict of Bicker; and they, touched with compaſſion, promiſed to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes.

The active ſpirit of the emperor was not, in the mean time, idle. So long as Dara lives, he muſt totter on his throne. He knew the rout which his unfortunate brother had taken; but his troops would not purſue the fugitive through ſuch a perilous way.

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He hoped that the hardſhips of the deſart might prevent him from embruing his hands in blood; but Dara muſt periſh; and Aurungzêbe was reſolved to be provided againſt every event of Fortune. He ordered ſome troops to march down along the Indus from Moultân; and the news of their approach came a few days after the arrival of Dara. The generous chiefs, who from compaſſion had reſolved to ſupport his cauſe, being not yet prepared to receive the enemy, adviſed him to fly into Perſia, the frontiers of which were within four days march of the place at which he then reſided.

Prepares to fly to Perſia;

He prepared for his flight; but Nadîra Bâna, the favourite Sultana, was dying. Spent with fatigue, overwhelmed with ſickneſs, and worn out with misfortune, ſhe was altogether incapable of the journey; and he could not leave her behind. She knew his ſituation, and requeſted earneſtly that they ſhould move away. "Death," ſaid ſhe, "will ſoon relieve the daughter of Purvez from her misfortunes; but let her not add to thoſe of her lord." She could not prevail upon him to march whilſt ſhe was in ſuch a ſituation; and he had, beſides, placed great hopes in the friendſhip of Jihon Chan, a neighbouring chief of great power. Jihon had been twice ſaved from death by the intereſt of Dara. Shaw Jehân, who was an enemy to oppreſſion, had ordered him to be, at two different times, proſecuted for murder and treaſon, before the chief juſtice of the empire. That judge, upon the cleareſt proofs, condemned him twice to death; and, at the requeſt of Dara, he was pardoned by the emperor, and reſtored to his eſtate which had been confiſcated. The prince, therefore, had reaſon to expect a return of gratitude; but the obligations were too great for the pride of this unprincipled chief, and they preſſed upon him like injuries.

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but throws himſelf on Jihon Chan.

The natural perfidy of Jihon was ſo notorious, that all his friends, with one voice, remonſtrated to Dara againſt his deſign of throwing himſelf on the faith of that chief. The prince, naturally obſtinate, was now blinded by his fate. He could not think of leaving his beloved Nadîra in the hour of death; and he reſolved to riſque all for the melancholy ſatisfaction of being preſent when the faithful companion of his diſtreſs expired. Some nobles, who had hitherto attended his perſon, and who had determined to accompany him in his exile to Perſia, ſeparated themſelves from a prince devoted to ruin. With ſeventy domeſtics only, he went to the reſidence of Jihon; and that chief, apprized of his coming, came out to meet him, and received him with the warmeſt profeſſions of friendſhip. He quitted his own palace to accommodate the prince; and nothing was to be ſeen around but the greateſt marks of hoſpitality and profound reſpect.

June 21ſt.

The Sultana dies.

The diſtemper of the Sultana had increaſed on the road to the reſidence of Jihon. She fainted away when ſhe was carried into the apartments aſſigned for her reception; and the prince ſat in tears by her ſide, during the whole night. In the morning ſhe expired in his arms. "It is only now," ſaid Dara, "I have found that I am alone. I was not bereft of all my friends whilſt Nadîra lived. But ſhe has cloſed her eyes on the misfortunes which are to involve her children and lord; and thus a peculiar happineſs has ſucceeded to accumulated diſtreſs." He tore off his magnificent robe, and threw the Imperial turban on the ground: then, clothing himſelf in a mean habit, he lay down by his departed conſort on the bed. In the evening one of his faithful ſervants joined him with fifty horſe. He was overjoyed at his arrival, and, ſtarting up, took him in his arms, and ſaid, "My ſituation, Gal Mahommed," for that was the officer's name, "is not without reſource. Nadîra, having forſaken the devoted Dara, has met

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with a part of that good fortune which was due to her virtues. You muſt, with your fifty horſe, eſcort the body to Lahore, to the ſepulchre of her great anceſtors. Aurungzêbe himſelf will not refuſe a grave to the family of Dara." The body was accordingly embalmed; and, being placed in a magnificent herſe, was eſcorted to Lahore.

He is betrayed by Jihon,

Dara had not remained many days at the reſidence of Jihon, when intelligence was received, that Chan Jehân, one of the principal generals of his brother, was advancing from Moultân; and that his van was already arrived in the neighbourhood. Dara reſolved to make his eſcape into Perſia. He called his ſervants together, and he took leave of Jihon. When he had proceeded about a mile on his way, he diſcovered Jihon coming after him, with about a thouſand horſe, on full ſpeed. He imagined, that Jihon deſigned to eſcort him with theſe troops to Perſia. He rode back by way of doing him honour; and, when he was about addreſſing his thanks to the treacherous chief, he was ſuddenly ſurrounded and diſarmed. "Villain!" ſaid Dara, "is it for this I twice ſaved your life from the reſentment of my father, when the elephants were ſtanding over you waiting for orders to cruſh you to death? But Juſtice will be ſatisfied, and Heaven has revenged your crimes upon my head." He ſtopt—and, with a ſcornful ſilence, ſubmitted his hands to be bound.

and delivered up

Jihon heard the prince without making any reply; for what could he ſay to vindicate his conduct? He ordered the priſoner to be mounted on an elephant, and then he fell upon the baggage, to enrich himſelf with the ſpoil of his benefactor. He then haſtened toward Chan Jehân; and, during the journey, notwithſtanding the natural unfeelingneſs of his mind, he durſt not for once come into the preſence of the much injured prince. His

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fate being now determined, that anxiety, which had long clouded the countenance of Dara, vaniſhed. His ſon was carried with him on the ſame elephant. Having a talent for poetry, he compoſed many affecting verſes on his own misfortunes; with the repetition of which he often drew tears from the eyes of the common ſoldiers who guarded his perſon. "My name," ſaid he one day, "imports that I am IN POMP LIKE DARIUS; I am alſo like that monarch in my fate. The friends whom he truſted, were more fatal than the ſwords of his enemy." Notwithſtanding theſe caſual complaints, he maintained his uſual dignity, and there was even ſomething majeſtic in his grief. It was not the wailings of a woman, but the manly afflictions of a great mind.

to the enemy.

When Chan Jehân, who had been apprized of the impriſonment of Dara, ſaw that prince advancing, meanly dreſſed on a ſorry elephant, he could not bear the ſight; and he hid his tears in his tent. He detached a party from his army to eſcort him, together with the traitor, to Delhi, where Aurungzêbe at the time kept his court. The emperor, though he rejoiced at the news that his brother had fallen into his hands, was full of perplexity and indeciſion. He called a council of his nobles; and they differed in their opinions; ſome, declaring for ſending him by another rout to the caſtle of Gualiâr; ſome, that he ſhould be carried through the city, to convince mankind that he was fallen for ever. Many adviſed againſt a meaſure that might be full of danger from the humanity of the people; a few argued, that ſuch conduct would degrade the dignity of the family of Timur. Others maintained, to whoſe opinion the emperor himſelf ſeemed to lean, that it was neceſſary he ſhould paſs through the capital, to aſtoniſh mankind with the abſolute power and invincible fortune of Aurungzêbe.

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Carried with ignominy through Delhi.

The unfortunate prince, accordingly, accompanied by his ſon, entered Delhi on an elephant. This, ſays a certain writer, was none of the fine elephants of Ceylon and Pegu, which they were wont to ride with golden harneſs, embroidered covers, and magnificent canopies to defend them from the ſun. No. It was an old animal, dirty and lean, with a tattered cover, a pitiful ſeat, and the caſtle open on all ſides to the winds. The ſplendid ornaments of his perſon were now vaniſhed, like his good fortune. A dirty dreſs of coarſe linen ſcarce covered his body from the weather; and his wretched turban was wrapt round with a ſcarf made of Caſhmire wool. His face, which formerly commanded reſpect with the manly regularity of its features, was now parched and ſhrivelled by being long expoſed to the heat; and a few ſtraggling locks, which appeared from his turban, preſented a grey colour unſuitable to his years. In this wretched ſituation he entered Delhi; and, when the mob who crowded to the gates knew that it was Dara, they burſt into loud complaints, and ſhed a flood of tears. The ſtreets were rendered almoſt impaſſible by the number of the ſpectators; the ſhops were full of perſons of all ages and degrees. The elephant moved ſlowly; and the progreſs he made was marked to thoſe who were diſtant by the advancing murmur among the people. Nothing was heard around but loud complaints againſt Fortune, and curſes on Aurungzêbe. But none had the boldneſs to offer to reſcue the unfortunate prince, though ſlightly guarded. They were quite unmanned by their ſorrow.

Confined in a neighbouring village.

After wandering over the features of Dara, the eyes of the people fell on his ſon. They oppoſed his innocence, his youth, his graceful perſon, his hopes and his quality, to the fate which impended over his head; and all were diſſolved in grief. The infectious ſorrow flew over the whole city: even the pooreſt people forſook their work, and retired to ſecret corners to weep. Dara retained his dignity upon this trying occaſion. He uttered not one word; but a ſettled melancholy ſeemed to dwell on his face. The unfortunate young prince was ready frequently to weep, being ſoftened by the complaints of the people; but his father checked him with a ſtern look, and he endeavoured to conceal his tears. Dara, having been thus led through the principal ſtreets of Delhi, was conducted to Chizerabâd, a village four miles without the walls. He was locked up, with his ſon, in a mean apartment, in which he remained for ſome days in hourly expectation of his death. Here he amuſed himſelf with writing inſtructions for his ſon Solimân; having concealed an ink ſtandiſh and ſome paper in one of the folds of his garment. His anxiety to know the intentions of Aurungzêbe, ſometimes broke in upon his melancholy amuſements. He appeared through the window to the guards; but they knew nothing of what paſſed at court. He then enquired concerning an old devotee, who had formerly lived in a cell near the foot of the Imperial garden at Delhi. One of the ſoldiers knew the old man; and the prince gave a billet to be carried to him, requeſting ſome intelligence. "But even he, perhaps," he ſaid, with a ſigh, "may have changed with the current of the times."

The traitor Jihon ſlain by the people.

The traitor Jihon, in the mean time, made his appearance at court, to claim the reward of his treachery. Aurungzêbe dignified him with a title, and enriched him with preſents. Paſſing through the city of Delhi, he was pointed out to the mob, who, falling upon him near the gate which leads to Lahore, killed ſeven of his attendants. He himſelf eſcaped; but the country people roſe upon him every where. They hunted him from place to place; till at length he met with his deſerts, and was ſlain when he had almoſt reached the boundaries of his own government.

ment. The zeal of the people, however, proved fatal to Dara. The emperor, hearing of the tumult near the gate of Lahore, ordered the chief magiſtrate of the city, with his officers, to go to the place, and enquire into the cauſe of the diſturbance. The mob fell upon the judge and his attendants. They fled to the palace, and the whole city was in an uproar.

Diſturbances at Delhi,

Aurungzêbe, in dread of a general revolt, called a council of his nobles. He had determined before to ſend his brother to the fortreſs of Gualiâr; but now he was afraid of a reſcue by the way. The minds of the people were ſtrangely agitated. Their imprecations againſt his cruelty reached him in the midſt of his guards; and he began, for the firſt time, to ſhew ſymptoms of political fear. He aſked the advice of his lords. The majority ſeemed to be for ſparing the life of Dara; and for ſending him, under a ſtrong guard, to the uſual priſon of the Imperial family. Aurungzêbe, though not ſatisfied, was about to yield to their opinion; when one Hakîm, a Perſian by birth, with a deſign to gain the favour of the emperor, inſiſted that Dara ſhould be put to death, as an apoſtate from the faith of Mahommed. The emperor pretended to be ſtartled, and ſaid, "The thing is determined. I might have forgiven injuries done to myſelf; but thoſe againſt religion I cannot forgive." He immediately ordered a warrant to be iſſued to Nazir and Seif, two fierce Afgan chiefs, which impowered them to take off Dara that very night.

haſten the murder of Dara.

On the eleventh of September, about midnight, the unfortunate prince was alarmed with the noiſe of arms coming through the paſſage which led to his apartment. He ſtarted up, and knew immediately that his death approached. He ſcarce had awakened his ſon, who lay aſleep on the carpet at his feet, when the aſſaſſins burſt open the door. Dara ſeized a knife,

which

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which he had concealed to mend the reed with which he wrote. He ſtood in a corner of the room. The murderers did not immediately attack him. They ordered his ſon to remove to the adjoining apartment but he clung round his father's knees. Two of the aſſaſſins ſeized him, to force him away; when Dara, ſeeing Nazir ſtanding at the door, begged to be indulged a few moments to take leave of his ſon. He fell upon his neck, and ſaid, "My dear ſon, this ſeparation is more afflicting than that between ſoul and body, which I am this moment to ſuffer. But ſhould HE ſpare you—live. Heaven may preſerve you to revenge my death; for his crimes ſhall not paſs unpuniſhed. I leave you to the protection of God. My ſon, remember me." A tear half ſtarted from his eye; when they were dragging the youth to the adjoining room. He, however, reſumed his wonted dignity and courage. "I beg one other favour, Nazir!" he ſaid, "much time has not been loſt by the laſt." He wrote a billet, and deſired that it ſhould be delivered to Aurungzêbe. But he took it back, and tore it, ſaying, "I have not been accuſtomed to aſk favours of my enemies. He that murders the father can have no compaſſion on the ſon." He then raiſed up his eyes in ſilence; and the aſſaſſins ſeemed to have forgot their office.

who is aſſaſſinated.

During this time of dreadful ſuſpence, the ſon, who lay bound in the next room, liſtened, expecting every moment to hear his father's dying groans. The aſſaſſins, in the mean time, urged on by Nazir, ſeized Dara by the hands and feet, and throwing him on the ground, prepared to ſtrangle him. Deeming this an infamous death, he, with an effort, diſincumbered his hand, and ſtabbed, with his pen-knife, one of the villains to the heart. The others, terrified, fled back; but as he was riſing from the floor, they fell upon him with their ſwords. His ſon, hearing the noiſe, though his hands were bound, burſt open the door, and

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entered, when the murderers were ſevering his father's head from his body. Nazir had the humanity to puſh back the youth into the other apartment, till this horrid operation was performed. The head of Dara was carried to Aurungzêbe, and the unfortunate young prince was left, during the remaining part of the night, ſhut up with his father's body. Next morning he was ſent privately under a guard, to the caſtle of Gualiâr.

Reflections

Thus fell the unhappy Dara Shekô; a prince whoſe virtues deſerved a better fate. But he was born to diſtreſs; and his imprudence often aſſiſted the malignity of his fortune. Though deſtitute of the addreſs which is neceſſary to gain mankind in general, he was much beloved by his family and domeſtics; and he was the darling of his father, who was often heard to ſay, That all his other children were not half ſo dear to him as Dara. This predilection in his favour was the ſource of the misfortunes of both. The other princes envied the influence of Dara, and all their differences with, and every diſappointment which they experienced from, their father, was laid to the account of their brother, who poſſeſſed all his confidence and eſteem. Dara was certainly jealous of his brothers, whom he ſaw inveſted with too much power in their reſpective provinces; and his oppoſing their meaſures at court was the natural conſequence of his fears. This mutual animoſity being once kindled, all the princes looked forward to the death of their father with terror. The ſeeds of civil war were long ſown before they appeared; and the illneſs of the emperor was the ſignal to begin the charge, from the four corners of his dominions. Dara had the poſt of advantage; but he was not a match in abilities to Aurungzêbe.

on his death.

Nazir, before day-light appeared, was admitted into the citadel to the emperor. That prince had remained all night in anxious expectation. Many of the nobles had expreſſed their high diſ-

ſatisfaction

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ſatisfaction at the meaſure of putting Dara to death; and he was afraid that the reſolution, before it took effect, might be communicated to the people rmy. He ſa was ſupported only by his own abilities and t lity followers. The unbiaſſed, by either intereſt or f on the crimes which his ambition had alr y committed. They were diſguſted at his cruelty to his father and his injuſtice to his brothers; and they, with indignation, ſaw hypocriſy, and the worſt kind of ambition, lurking behind profeſſions of religion and moderation. Nazir, however, relieved him of a part of his fears. The head of Dara being disfigured with blood, he ordered it to be thrown into a charger of water; and when he had wiped it with his handkerchief, he recognized the features of his brother. He is ſaid to have exclaimed, "Alas, unfortunate man!" and then to have ſhed ſome tears.

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. III.

War againſt Suja—He is driven from Mongeer—and Raja-Mâhil—The prince Mahommed deſerts to Suja—A mutiny in the army—Quelled by the viſier—Battle of Tanda—Artifice of Aurungzêbe—Mahommed leaves Suja—His impriſonment and character—Suja driven from Bengal—His flight through the mountains of Tippera—Arrival at Arracân—Perfidy, avarice, and cruelty of the Raja—Misfortunes—reſolution—bravery—and murder of Suja—Deplorable fate of his family—Reflections.

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Reflections.

THE fears of the emperor from the moſt formidable of his rivals, were extinguiſhed with the life of Dara. The ſilence which accompanies the deciſions of deſpotiſm, is an effectual prevention of tumult and confuſion. The people, for ſome days, were ſtrangers to the death of the prince, and his prior misfortunes had even leſſened the regret, which his murder might have otherwiſe created in the minds of mankind. Miſery had riſen to its height; and the worſt period it could have, was in ſome degree fortunate. The conduct of the emperor contributed to obliterate his crimes. With an appearance of humanity and benevolence in the common operations of government, men were apt to attribute the inſtances of cruelty which he exhibited, to the neceſſity of his ſituation and they forgot the evils done to individuals, in the general good of the whole. Should ſelf-preſervation be admitted

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as an excuſe for the commiſſion of bad actions, Aurungzêbe was not without apolog [illegible] He had gone too far not to go farther ſtill: he had depoſed his [illegible] he had exc u ed his brother from the throne, and a flame [illegible] ndled [illegible] hich could be extinguiſhed by nothing but blood.

Preparations of Suja.

During the misfortunes of Dara in the weſt and north, the war was carried on with vigour in Bengal againſt Suja. That prince having, after the unfortunate battle of Kidgwâ, eſcaped to Mongeer, was active in making new preparations for the field. Naturally bold and intrepid, misfortune had no effect upon him but to redouble his diligence to retrieve it; and he wanted not reſources in his province for recommencing hoſtilities, with an appearance of being able for ſome time to ward off the hand of Fate, which ſeemed to hang over his head. His firſt care was to collect the remains of his diſſipated army in the neighbourhood of Mongeer, which commands the paſs into Bengal; and, whilſt he was collecting more troops from the extenſive country in his rear, he drew lines from the mountains to the Ganges, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy.

Jumla turns his rear.

Mahommed, the ſon of Aurungzêbe, had been detached with ten thouſand horſe from the field of Kidgwâ in purſuit of Suja. The prince was ſoon joined by Jumla the viſier, with a great force; and they proceeded ſlowly down along the banks of the Ganges. The ſtrong poſition of Suja gave him a manifeſt advantage; and Jumla, an able and experienced officer, contrived to drive him from his poſt without bloodſhed. The ridge of mountains to the right of the Ganges are, in their fertile valleys, poſſeſſed by petty, but independent princes. Jumla found means to draw theſe over to his party; and they ſhewed to him a paſſage through their country, by whi [illegible] he could turn the rear of Suja. Ha [illegible] ng, by

way

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way of blind, left a conſiderable part of the army to fall down, in the common rout, along the river, he himſelf, accompanied by the prince, entered [illegible] mountains, [illegible] heard of by Suja in his rear, when he expected to [illegible] in front. Suja decamped with precipitation; [illegible] arrived in the environs of Raja-Mâhil ſome days before Jumla iſſued from the mountains. He fortified himſelf in his camp; and the viſier, who could make no impreſſion without artillery, marched toward the left, to join the army coming down along the Ganges.

Attacks him in his lines.

The whole army having joined, the Imperialiſts preſented themſelves before the lines of Suja. The viſier opened upon him with his artillery, and made ſeveral unſucceſsful aſſaults. During ſix days he was repulſed with ſlaughter; but Suja durſt not truſt the effeminate natives of Bengal in the open field againſt the Tartars of the north, who compoſed the greater part of the Imperial army. Jumla played inceſſantly with his artillery upon the fortifications, which being only made up of hurdles and looſe ſandy ſoil, were ſoon ruined. Suja's poſt becoming untenable, he decamped under the favour of night; and Jumla, afraid of an ambuſh, though he was appriſed of the retreat of the enemy, durſt not follow him. The rainy ſeaſon commenced on the very night of Suja's flight; and the Imperialiſts were conſtrained to remain inactive for ſome months in the neighbourhood of Raja-Mâhil.

Suja retreats.

Suja, with his army, croſſing the Ganges, took the rout of Tanda; and, during the inactivity of the Imperialiſts, ſtrengthened himſelf with troops from the Lower Bengal. He alſo drew from that quarter a great train of artillery, which was wrought by Portugueſe and other Europeans, who were ſettled in that country. Suja, being attached to no ſyſtem of religion, was favourable to all. He promiſed to build churches for the Chriſtians, ſhould he ſucceed in his views

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on the empire; an e miſſionaries and fathers entered with zeal into his cauſe. The affairs of the prince began to wear a better aſpect. His effeminate troops acquired confidence from a well-ſerved artillery; and who conſided much in the abilities of Jumla, was not without anxiety. An event happened about this time which raiſed the hopes of Suja, and added to the fears of his brother.

The prince Mahommed

The prince Mahommed, who, in conjunction with Jumla, commanded the Imperial army, had, before the civil war, conceived a paſſion for one of the daughters of Suja. Overtures of marriage had been made and accepted; but the conſummation of the nuptials had been broken off by the troubles which diſturbed the times. He ſeemed even to have forgot his betrothed wife in his activity in the field; but the princeſs, moved by the misfortunes of her father, wrote with her own hand a very moving letter to Mahommed. She lamented her unhappy fate, in ſeeing the prince whom ſhe loved, armed againſt her father. She expreſſed her paſſion and unfortunate condition, in terms which found their way to his heart. His former affections were rekindled in all their fury; and, in the elevation of his mind, he reſolved to deſert his father's cauſe.

goes over to Suja.

The viſier, upon affairs of ſome importance, was, in the mean time, at ſome diſtance from the army, which lay at Raja-Mâhil. The opportunity was favourable for the late adopted ſcheme of Mahommed. He opened the affair to ſome of his friends: he complained of his father's coldneſs, and even of his ingratitude, to a ſon, to whom, as having ſeized the perſon of Shaw Jehân, he owed the empire. He gave many inſtances of his own ſervices; many of the unjuſt returns made by Aurungzêbe, and concluded by declaring his fixed reſolution to join Suja. They endeavoured to diſſuade him from ſo raſh an action; but he had taken his reſolution, and he would

A. D. 1659. Hig. 1069. liſten to no argument. He aſked them, Whether they would follow his fortunes? th [illegible] eplied, "We are he ſervants of Mahommed, and if the pr[illegible]e will to-nigh join Suja, he is ſo much beloved by the army, that [illegible] ill [illegible] over to him by the dawn of day." On theſe vague aſſurances, the prince quitted the camp that evening with a ſmall retinue. He embarked in a boat on the Ganges; and the troops thought that he had only gone on a party of pleaſure.

Jumla perplexed; Some of the pretended friends of Mahommed wrote letters, containing an account of the deſertion of the prince, to the viſier. That lord was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the folly and madneſs of the deed. He thought it impoſſible, that, without having ſecured the army, he could deſert his father's cauſe. He was perplexed with anxiety and doubt; he expected every moment to hear, that the troops were in full march to Tanda; and he was afraid to join them, with a deſign of reſtoring them to their duty, leſt he ſhould be carried priſoner to the enemy. He, however, after ſome heſitation, reſolved to diſcharge the part of a good officer. He ſet out expreſs for the camp, where he arrived next day. He found things in the utmoſt confuſion, but not in ſuch a deſperate ſituation as he had expected. A great part of the army was mutinous, and beginning to plunder the tents of thoſe who continued in their duty. Theſe had taken arms in defence of their property; ſo that bloodſhed muſt ſoon have enſued. The country, on every ſide of the camp, was covered with whole ſquadrons that fled from the flame of diſſention which had been kindled. Tumult, commotion, and diſorder reigned everywhere when the viſier entered the camp.

quells The appearance of that lord, who was reſpected for his great qualities by all, ſoon ſilenced the ſtorm. He mounted an elephant n the center of the camp, and ſpoke a[illegible]er this manner to the army who crowded tumultuouſly round im: "You are

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no ſtrangers, my fellow-ſoldiers, to the flight of the prince Mahommed, and to his having preferred the love of the daughter of Suja to his allegi his ſovereign and father. Intoxicated by the fame to whi our had raiſed him, he has long been preſumptuous in his hopes. Ambition brought him to the edge of the precipice over which he has been thrown by love. But in abandoning you, he has abandoned his fortune; and, after the firſt tranſports are over, regret, and a conſciouſneſs of folly, will only remain. Suja has perhaps pledged his faith to ſupport the infatuated prince againſt his father; he may have even promiſed the throne of India as a reward for his treachery. But how can Suja perform his promiſe? We have ſeen his hoſtile ſtandards—but we have ſeen them only to be ſeized. Bengal abounds with men, with proviſions, with wealth; but valour is not the growth of that ſoil. The armies of Aurungzêbe are numerous; like you they are drawn from the north, and he is himſelf as invincible in the field as he is wiſe and deciſive in the cabinet.

a mutiny

" But ſhould we even ſuppoſe that Fortune, which has hitherto been ſo favourable to Aurungzêbe, ſhould deſert him in another field, would Mahommed reign? Would Suja, experienced in the arts of government, and ambitious as he is of power, place the ſcepter of India in the hands of a boy? Would he ſubmit to the authority of the ſon of a younger brother? to the tool of his own deſigns? The impoſſibility is glaring and obvious. Return, therefore, my fellow-ſoldiers, to your duty. You can conquer without Mahommed. Fortune has not followed him to the enemy. Your valour can command her every where. He has embraced his own ruin; but why ſhould we ſhare in his adverſe fate? Bengal lies open before you: the enemy are juſt not totally broken. They are not objects of terror, but of plunder: yo acquire wealth without trouble, and glory without toil."

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in the army.

This ſpeech of the viſier had the intended effect. Every ſpecies of diſorder and tumult ſubſided in a moment. The troops deſired to be led to the enemy; and Jumla join permit their ardor to cool. He immedia [illegible] a bridge of boats acroſs the river. The work was finiſhed in three days; and he paſſed the Ganges with his whole army. Mahommed, in the mean time, having arrived at Tanda, was received with every mark of reſpect by Suja. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence and pomp; and the feſtivity was ſcarce over, when certain news arrived of the near approach of the Imperial army under Jumla. Suja immediately iſſued out with all his forces from Tanda. He poſted himſelf in an advantageous ground, and waited for the enemy, with a determined reſolution to riſk all on the iſſue of a battle.

Defeats Suja.

Mahommed, who was naturally full of confidence and boldneſs, did not deſpair of bringing over the greateſt part of the army of Jumla to his own ſide. He erected his ſtandard in the front of Suja's camp; and when that prince drew out his forces in order of battle, he placed himſelf in the center of the firſt line. Jumla, conſcious of the ſuperiority of his own troops in point of valour, was glad to find the enemy in the open field. He formed his line, and ordered a column of horſe to fall immediately upon Mahommed. That prince vainly ſuppoſed, when the enemy advanced, that they were determined to deſert Jumla. But he was ſoon convinced of his error by the warmth of their attack. He behaved with his uſual bravery; but the effeminate natives of Bengal were not to be kept to their colours. They fled; and he was carried along with their flight. The utmoſt efforts of Suja proved alſo ineffectual. His troops gave way on all ſides; and he himſelf was the laſt who quitted the field. A great ſlaughter was made in the purſuit, and Tanda opened her gates to the conqueror. The princes fled to Dacca in the utmoſt diſtreſs, leaving the eldeſt ſon of Suja dead on the field: but Jumla, remaining for ſome time in Tanda to ſettle the ſtruſt[illegible]s of the now almoſt conquered province, gave them ſome reſpite, which [illegible] employed in levying a new army.

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Artifice of Aurungzêbe

The news of the flight of Mahommed arriving in the mean time at Delhi, Aurungzêbe concluded that the whole army in Bengal had gone over to Suja. He immediately marched from the capital with a great force. He took, with incredible expedition, the rout of Bengal. He however had not advanced far from Delhi, when intelligence of the ſucceſs of his arms in the battle of Tanda met him on his way, and he forthwith returned to the capital. He there had recourſe to his uſual policy. He wrote a letter to his ſon, as if in anſwer to one received; and he contrived matters ſo, that it ſhould be intercepted by Suja. That prince, having peruſed the letter, placed it in the hands of Mahommed, who ſwore by the Prophet that he had never once written to his father ſince the battle of Kidgwâ. The letter was conceived in terms like theſe:

to ſeparate Mahommed

"To our beloved ſon Mahommed, whoſe happineſs and ſafety are joined with our life. It was with regret and ſorrow that we parted with our ſon, when his valour became neceſſary to carry on the war againſt Suja. We hoped, from the love we bear to our firſt-born, to be gratified ſoon with his return; and that he would have brought the enemy captive to our preſence in the ſpace of a month, to relieve our mind from anxiety and fear. But ſeven months paſſed away, without the completion of the wiſhes of Aurungzêbe. Inſtead of adhering to your duty, Mahommed, you betrayed your father, and threw a blot on your own fame. [illegible] ſmiles of a woman have overcome filial piety. Honour is forgot in

the

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the brightneſs of her beauty; and he who was deſtined to rule the empire of the Moguls, has himſelf become a ſlave. But as Mahommed ſeems to repent of his folly, we [illegible] his crimes. He has called the name of God to [illegible] of his ſincerity; and our parental affection returns. He has already our forgiveneſs; but the execution of what he propoſes is the only means to regain our favour."

from Suja.

The letter made an impreſſion on the mind of Suja, which all the proteſtations of Mahommed could not remove. He became ſilent and diſcontented. He had an affection for the prince, and he was more enraged at being diſappointed in the judgment which he had formed, than at the ſuppoſed treachery. Having continued three days in this agitation of mind, he at laſt ſent for the prince. He told him, in the preſence of his council, that after all the ſtruggles of affection with ſuſpicion, the latter had prevailed; that he could no longer behold Mahommed with an eye of friendſhip, ſhould he even ſwear to his innocence in the holy temple of Mecca; that the bond of union and confidence which had lately ſubſiſted between them was broken; and that, inſtead of a ſon and a friend, he beheld him in the light of an enemy. "It is therefore neceſſary for the peace of both," continued Suja, "that Mahommed ſhould depart. Let him take away his wife, with all the wealth and jewels which belong to her rank. The treaſures of Suja are open; he may take whatever he pleaſes. Go.——Aurungzêbe ſhould thank me for ſending away his ſon, before he has committed a crime."

He is diſmiſſed by that prince,

Mahommed, on this ſolemn occaſion, could not refrain from tears. He felt the injuſtice of the reproach; he admired the magnanimity of Suja; he pitied his misfortunes. But his own condition was equally deplorable. He knew the ſtern rigour of his father;

ther; who never truſted any man twice. He knew that his difficulty of forgiving was equal to his caution. The proſpect was gloomy on either ſide. Diſtruſt and miſery were with Suja, and a priſon was the leaſt puniſhment to be [illegible]ed from Aurungzêbe. He took leave, the next day, of his father-in-law. That prince preſented his daughter with jewels, plate, and money to a great amount; and the unfortunate pair purſued their journey to the camp of Jumla.

ſeized,

Mahommed, accompanied by his ſpouſe the daughter of Suja, moved ſlowly toward the camp of Jumla. His melancholy encreaſed as he advanced; but whither could he fly? No part of the vaſt empire of India was impervious to the arms of Aurungzêbe; and he was not poſſeſſed of the means of eſcaping beyond the limits of his father's power. He was even aſhamed to ſhew himſelf among troops whom he had deſerted. Regret ſucceeded to folly; and he ſcarce could reflect with patience on the paſt, though the fair cauſe of his misfortunes ſtill kept her dominion over his mind. Having approached within a few miles of the Imperialiſts, he ſent to announce his arrival to the viſier. That miniſter haſtened to receive him with all the honours due to his rank. A ſquadron with drawn ſwords formed around his tent; but they were his keepers rather than guards. Jumla, the very next day, received a packet from court; which contained orders to ſend Mahommed, ſhould he fall into his hands, under a ſtrong eſcort to Delhi. The officer who commanded the party was ordered to obey the commands of the prince; but he, at the ſame time, received inſtructions to watch his motions, and to prevent his eſcape. When he arrived at Agra, he was confined in the citadel, from whence he was ſoon after ſent to Gualiâr, where he remained a priſoner to his death.

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and impriſoned.

Mahommed, though brave and enterprizing like his father, was deſtitute of his policy and addreſs. Precipitate, full of fire, and inconſiderate, he was more fitted for acting the part of a partizan than of a general; and was therefore leſs adapted for war than for battle. Haughty in his temper, yet eaſy in his addreſs; an enemy to cruelty, and an abſolute ſtranger to fear. He was daring and active on occaſions of danger; but he knew his merit, and he was ſelf-conceited and haughty. He aſcribed to his own deciſive valour the whole ſucceſs of his father; and he had been often known to ſay, that he placed Aurungzêbe on the throne when he might have poſſeſſed it himſelf. Naturally open and generous, he deſpiſed the duplicity of his father, and diſdained power that muſt be preſerved by art. His free converſations upon theſe ſubjects eſtranged from him the affections of his father, who ſeems to have confeſſed this merit by his own fears. Had Mahommed accepted of the offer of Shaw Jehân, when he ſeized that prince, he had courage and activity ſufficient to keep poſſeſſion of the throne of the Moguls. But he neglected the golden opportunity, and ſhewed his love of ſway, when he was not poſſeſſed of any rational means to acquire the empire. His misfortunes however were greater than his folly. He paſſed ſeven years in a melancholy priſon at Gualiâr, till death put a period to his miſery.

Suja

Jumla, having ſettled the affairs of the weſtern Bengal, marched with his army toward Dacca. Suja was in no condition to meet him in the field; and to attempt to hold out any place againſt ſo great a force, would be to enſure, by protracting, his own fate. His reſources were now gone. He had but little money, and he could have no army. Men foreſaw his inevitable ruin, and they ſhunned his preſence. His appearance to the few troops who had remained near him, was even more terrible [illegible] an the ſight of an enemy. They could not extricate him from misfortune, and they pitied

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pitied his fate. He however ſtill retained the dignity of his own ſoul. He was always cheerful, and full of hopes; his activity prevented the irkſomeneſs of thought. When the news of the approach of the Imperialiſts arrived, he called together his few friends. He acquainted them with his reſolution of flying beyond the limits of an empire, in which he had now nothing to expect but misfortunes; and he aſked them, Whether they preferred certain miſery with their former lord, to an uncertain pardon from a new maſter?

driven from Bengal,

To the feeling and generous, misfortune ſecures friends. They all declared their reſolution to follow Suja to whatever part of the world he ſhould take his flight. With fifteen hundred horſe he directed his march from Dacca toward the frontiers of Aſſâm. Jumla was cloſe at his heels; but Suja, having croſſed the Baramputre, which, running through the kingdom of Aſſâm, falls into Bengal, entered the mountains of Rangamâti. Through almoſt impervious woods, over abrupt rocks, acroſs deep valleys and headlong torrents, he continued his flight toward Arracân. Having made a circuit of near five hundred miles through the wild mountains of Tippera, he entered Arracân with a diminiſhed retinue. The hardſhips which he ſuſtained in the march were forgot in the hoſpitality of the prince of the country, who received him with the diſtinction due to his rank.

takes refuge in Arracân.

Jumla loſt ſight of the fugitive when he entered the mountains beyond the Baramputre. He turned his arms againſt Cogebâr, and reduced that country, with the neighbouring valleys which interſect the hills of Kokapâgi. But Suja, though beyond the reach of Jumla's arms, was not beyond his policy. The place of his retreat was known, and threatening letters from the viſier, whoſe fame had paſſed the mountains of Arracân, raiſed terrors in the

mind

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mind of the Raja. He thought himſelf unſafe in his natural faſtneſs; and a ſudden coolneſs to Suja appeared in his behaviour. The wealth of his unfortunate gueſt became alſo an object for his avarice. Naturally ungenerous, he determined to take advantage of misfortune; but he muſt do it with caution, for fear of oppoſing the current of the public opinion. He ſent a meſſage to Suja requiring him to depart from his dominions. The impoſſibility of the thing was not admitted as an excuſe. The Monſoons raged on the coaſt; the hills behind were impaſſable, and covered with ſtorms. The violence of the ſeaſon joined iſſue with the unrelenting fate of Suja. The unfeeling prince was obſtinate. He iſſued his commands, becauſe he knew they could not be obeyed. Suja ſent his ſon to requeſt a reſpite for a few days. He was accordingly indulged with a few days; but they only brought accumulated diſtreſs.

His uncommon

Many of the adherents of the prince had been loſt in his march; many, foreſeeing his inevitable fate, deſerted him after his arrival at Arracân. Of fifteen hundred only forty remained; and theſe were men of ſome rank, who were reſolved to die with their benefactor and lord. The Sultana, the mother of his children, had been for ſome time dead: his ſecond wife, three daughters, and two ſons compoſed his family. The few days granted by the Raja were now expired; Suja knew of no reſource. To aſk a longer indulgence was in vain; he perceived the intentions of the prince of Arracân, and he expected in ſilence his fate. A meſſage in the mean time came from the Raja, demanding in marriage the daughter of Suja. "My misfortunes," ſaid the prince, "were not complete, without this inſult. Go tell your maſter, that the race of Timur, though unfortunate, will never ſubmit to diſhonour. But why does he ſearch for a cauſe of diſpute? His inhumanity and avarice are too obvious to be covered by any pretence. Let him act an open part; and his boldneſs will atone for a portion of his crime."

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The Raja was highly offended at the haughtineſs of the anſwer of Suja. But the people pitied the fugitive, and the prince durſt not openly do an act of flagrant injuſtice. To aſſaſſinate him in private was impoſſible, from the vigilance of his forty friends. A public pretence muſt be made to gain the wealth of Suja, and to appeaſe his enemies by his death. The report of a conſpiracy againſt the Raja was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad. It was affirmed that Suja had formed a deſign to mount the throne of Arracân, by aſſaſſinating its monarch. The thing was in itſelf improbable. How could a foreigner, with forty adherents, hope to rule a people of a different religion with themſelves. An account of the circumſtances of the intended revolution was artfully propagated. The people loſt their reſpect for Suja, in his character of an aſſaſſin. It was in vain he proteſted his innocence; men who could give credit to ſuch a plot, had too much weakneſs to be moved by argument.

diſtreſs.

The Raja, in a pretended terror, called ſuddenly together his council. He unfolded to them the circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and he aſked their advice. They were unanimouſly of opinion, that Suja and his followers ſhould be immediately ſent away from the country. The Raja was diſappointed in his expectations; he had hoped that death ſhould be the puniſhment of projected murder. But the natural hoſpitality of the nobles of Arracân prevailed over his views. He, however, under the ſanction of the determination of his council, reſolved to execute his own deſigns. The unfortunate prince, with his family and his forty friends, were appriſed of his intentions. They were encamped on a narrow plain which lay between a precipice and a river, which iſſuing from Arracân, falls into the country of Pegû. At

Ordered to leave Arracân.

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either end of the plain a paſs was formed between the rock and the river. Suja, with twenty of his men, poſſeſſed himſelf of one; and his ſon with the reſt, ſtood in the other in arms. They ſaw the Raja's troops advancing; and Suja, with a ſmile on his countenance, addreſſed his few friends:

His reſolution,

"The battle we are about to fight is unequal; but, in our preſent ſituátion, the iſſue muſt be fortunate. We contend not now for empire; nor even for life, but for honour. It is not fitting that Suja ſhould die, without having his arms in his hands: to ſubmit tamely to aſſaſſination, is beneath the dignity of his family and former fortune. But your caſe, my friends, is not yet ſo deſperate. You have no wealth to be ſeized; Aurungzêbe has not placed a price upon your heads. Though the Raja is deſtitute of generoſity; it is not in human nature to be wantonly cruel. You may eſcape with your lives, and leave me to my fate. There is one, however, who muſt remain with Suja. My ſon is involved with me in my adverſe fortune; his crime is in his blood. To ſpare his life, would deprive the Raja of half his reward from Aurungzêbe for procuring my death."

bravery,

His friends were ſilent, but they burſt into tears. They took their poſts, and prepared themſelves to receive with their ſwords the troops of the Raja. The unfortunate women remained in their tent, in dreadful ſuſpence; till rouzed by the claſhing of arms, they ruſhed forth with diſhevelled hair. The men behaved with that elevated courage which is raiſed by misfortune in the extreme. They twice repulſed the enemy, who, afraid of their ſwords, began to gall them with arrows from a diſtance. The greateſt part of the friends of Suja were at length either ſlain or ed. He himſelf ſtill ſtood undaunted, and defended the paſs againſt the cowardly troops of Arracân. They durſt not approach hand to hand; and their miſſive weapons flew wide of their aim.

The officer who commanded the party, ſent in the mean time ſome of his ſoldiers to the top of the precipice, to roll down ſtones on the prince and his gallant friends. One fell on the ſhoulder of Suja; and he ſunk down, being ſtunned with the pain. The enemy took advantage of his fall. They ruſhed forward, diſarmed and bound him.

misfortunes, and murder.

He was hurried into a canoe which lay ready on the river. The officer told him, that his orders were to ſend him down the ſtream to Pegû. Two of his friends threw themſelves into the canoe, as they were puſhing it away from the bank. The wife and the daughters of Suja, with cries which reached heaven, threw themſelves headlong into the river. They were, however, brought aſhore by the ſoldiers; and carried away, together with the ſon of Suja, who was wounded, to the Raja's palace. The prince, ſad and deſolate, beheld their diſtreſs; and, in his ſorrow, heeded not his own approaching fate. They had now rowed to the middle of the ſtream; but his eyes were turned toward the ſhore. The rowers, according to their inſtructions from the cruel Raja, drew a large plug from the bottom of the canoe; and throwing themſelves into the river, were taken up by another canoe which had followed them for that purpoſe. The canoe was inſtantly filled with water. The unfortunate prince and his two friends betook themſelves to ſwimming. They followed the other canoe; but ſhe haſtened to the ſhore. The river was broad; and at laſt, worn out with fatigue, Suja reſigned himſelf to death. His two faithful friends at the ſame inſtant diſappeared in the ſtream.

Deplorable fate of his family.

Piâra Bani, the favourite, the only wife of Suja, was ſo famed for her wit and beauty, that many ſongs in her praiſe are ſtill ſung in Bengal. The gracefulneſs of her perſon had even become proverbial. When the Raja came to wait upon her in the haram,

ſhe

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ſhe attempted to ſtab him with a dagger which ſhe had concealed. She, however, was diſarmed; and perceiving that ſhe was deſtined for the arms of the murderer of her lord, in the madneſs of grief, rage and deſpair, ſhe disfigured her beautiful face with her own hands; and at laſt found with ſad difficulty a cruel death, by daſhing her head againſt a ſtone. The three daughters of Suja ſtill remained; two of them found means by poiſon to put an end to their grief. The third was married to the Raja; but ſhe did not long ſurvive what ſhe reckoned an indelible diſgrace on the family of Timur. The ſon of Suja, who had defended himſelf to the laſt, was at length overpowered, by means of ſtones rolled down upon him from the rock. He was carried to the Raja; and ſoon after, with his infant brother, fell a victim, by a cruel death, to the jealouſy of that prince.

Reflections.

Such was the melancholy end of Suja, and of all his family; a prince not leſs unfortunate than Dara, though of better abilities to oppoſe his fate. He was bold and intrepid in action, and far from being deſtitute of addreſs. His perſonal courage was great; and he was even a ſtranger to political fear. Had he, at the commencement of the war, been poſſeſſed of troops equal in valour to thoſe of his brother, we might probably have the misfortunes of Aurungzêbe, and not thoſe of Suja, to relate. But the effeminate natives of Bengal failed him in all his efforts. Perſonal courage in a general, aſſumes the appearance of fear with a cowardly army. When Suja prevailed, the merit was his own; when he failed, it was the fault of his army. No prince was ever more beloved than Suja; he never did a cruel, never an inhumane action during his life. Misfortune, and even death itſelf, could not deprive him of all his friends; and though his fate was not known in Hindoſtan for ſome years after his death, when it was heard, it filled every eye with tears.

AURUNG-

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. IV.

Prudent adminiſtration of Aurungzêbe—Obſervations on his conduct—His behaviour toward his ſecond ſon—Solimân Shekô betrayed by the Raja of Serinagur—He flies—is taken—brought to Delhi—and impriſoned—An embaſſy from Perſia—Shaw Allum declared heir-apparent—A famine—Wiſe and humane conduct of the emperor—War in the Decan—Aurungzêbe falls ſick—Diſtractions at Delhi—Intrigues of Shaw Allum—Recovery of the emperor—He demands the daughter of Dara—and the Imperial jewels from Shaw Jehân—but is refuſed—His art to appeaſe his father—Promotions.

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Hig. 1070.
Reflections.

THE war with Suja, which was carried on in the extremity of the empire, neither diſturbed the repoſe of Aurungzêbe, nor diverted his attention from the civil affairs of the ſtate. Impartial and deciſive in his meaſures, he was even acknowledged to be a good prince, by thoſe who recognized not his right to the throne; and men began to wonder, how he, who was ſo juſt, could be ſo cruel. The people ſuffered little by the civil war. The damage done by the marching and counter-marching of armies, was paid out of the public treaſury. An exact diſcipline had been obſerved by all parties; for the rivals for the crown of Hindoſtan, though in the field againſt one another, could not perſuade themſelves that they were in an enemy's country. The prince who prevailed in a province, extended not the puniſh-

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ment of treaſon to thoſe who ſupported a competitor with their ſwords; and, what is ſcarce credible, not one man beyond the family of Timur, was either aſſaſſinated in private, or ſlain by the hands of public juſtice, during a civil war, ſo long, ſo bloody, and ſo various in its events.

Prudent adminiſtration of Aurungzêbe.

The emperor accuſtomed to buſineſs, in his long government of various provinces, was well acquainted with the whole detail of public affairs. Nothing was ſo minute as to eſcape his notice. He knew that the power and conſequence of the prince depended upon the proſperity and happineſs of the people; and he was even from ſelfiſh views an enemy to oppreſſion, and an encourager of agriculture and commercial induſtry. He eſtabliſhed a perfect ſecurity of property over all his dominions. The forms of juſtice were made leſs intricate, and more expeditious than under former reigns. To corrupt a judge was rendered for the firſt time a crime. The fees paid in the courts of judicature were aſcertained with accuracy and preciſion; and a delay in the execution of juſtice, ſubjected the judge to the payment of the loſs ſuſtained by the party aggrieved.

The courſe of appeals from inferior to ſuperior courts was uninterrupted and free; but to prevent a wanton exertion of this privilege, the appellant was ſeverely fined, when his complaint againſt a judgment was found frivolous and ill-founded. The diſtributers of public juſtice, when their decrees were reverſed, could not always ſcreen themſelves under a pretended error in judgment. Should the matter appear clear, they were turned out of their offices, as ſwayed by partiality or bribery. Aurungzêbe, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, eſtabliſhed a precedent of this kind. An appeal came before him in the preſence of the nobles. The deciſion had been unjuſt. He ſent for the judge, and told him in public, "This matter is clear and obvious;

vious; if you have no abilities to perceive it in that light, you are unfit for your place, as a weak man; if you ſuffered yourſelf to be overcome by preſents, you are an unjuſt man, and therefore unworthy of your office." Having thus reprimanded the judge; he diveſted him of his employment, and diſmiſſed him with ignominy from his preſence.

A. D 1660.
Hig. 1070.

Obſervations on his conduct.

But this is the fair ſide of the character of Aurungzêbe. Dark and determined in his policy, he broke through every reſtraint to accompliſh his deſigns. He pointed in a direct line to the goal of ambition; and he cared not by what means he removed whatever object obſtructed his way. He either believed that morality was inconſiſtent with the great tract of government; or, he acted as if he believed it; and he ſometimes deſcended into a vicious meanneſs, which threw diſcredit on his abilities, as well as upon his honeſty. He held the cloke of religion between his actions and the vulgar; and impiouſly thanked the Divinity for a ſucceſs which he owed to his own wickedneſs. When he was murdering and perſecuting his brothers and their families, he was building a magnificent moſque at Delhi, as an offering to God for his aſſiſtance to him in the civil wars. He acted as high-prieſt at the conſecration of this temple; and made a practice of attending divine ſervice there, in the humble dreſs of a Fakier. But when he lifted one hand to the Divinity, he, with the other, ſigned warrants for the aſſaſſination of his relations.

Artful conduct of his ſecond ſon

During the civil wars which convulſed the empire, all remained quiet in the Decan. The prudent management of Mahommed Mauzim, the ſecond ſon of Aurungzêbe, prevented the lately conquered provinces from ſhaking off the yoke. That prince, with a great ſhare of his father's abilities, exceeded him if poſſible in coolneſs and ſelf-denial. He knew the ſtern jealouſy of

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the emperor; and he rather affected the humility of a ſlave, than the manly confidence of a ſon. He was no ſtranger to the facility with which his father could ſacrifice every thing to his own ſecurity; and he looked upon him as an enemy who watched his motions, more than in the light of a parent who would grant indulgences for errors. He knew that the beſt means for preventing the ſuſpicions of Aurungzêbe, was to copy his own art. He affected to love buſineſs; he was humble and ſelf-denied in his profeſſions, deſtitute of preſumption, and full of devotion.

ſuſpected.

Aurungzêbe, whoſe penetrating eye ſaw ſome deſign lurking in ſecret behind the conduct of Mauzim, inſinuated to that prince, that to reign was a delicate ſituation; that ſovereigns muſt be jealous even of their own ſhadows; and, as for himſelf, he was reſolved never to become a ſacrifice to the ambition of a ſon. Mauzim knew the intention of the ſpeech, but he ſeemed not to underſtand it; and he redoubled his attention to thoſe arts which had already, in a great meaſure, lulled aſleep the watchful ſuſpicions of his father. He remitted the revenue to the capital, with great regularity and preciſion. He practiſed, in his expences, the œconomy and frugality which his father loved. In appearance, and even perhaps from conſtitution, an enemy to effeminate pleaſures, without vanity enough for pomp and magnificence, his court ſeemed like the cell of a hermit, who grudged to others the indulgences for which he had no taſte himſelf. All this art, however, prevailed not with Aurungzêbe to continue him in his viceroyſhip of the Decan. He knew, from his own experience, how dangerous it is to continue the government of a rich province, long in the hands of a prince of abilities. He, therefore, recalled Mauzim to court, and gave his high office to Shaiſta Chan.

A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

Expedient againſt Soliman.

The attention of Aurungzêbe turned from Bengal to another quarter, upon receiving certain intelligence of the flight of Suja to Arracân. Solimân ſtill remained incloſed in the mountains of Serinagur, under the protection of the Raja. The emperor did not think himſelf firmly fixed on the throne, whilſt any of the family of Dara remained out of his hands. He applied through Joy Singh, who, from being of the ſame religion with the Raja, had great influence over him, to the prince of Serinagur. He tempted his avarice, and he wrought upon his fears. The Raja, being averſe to be thought diſhonourable, heſitated contrary to the bias of his paſſions. He, however, connived at an invaſion of his country to reconcile his people, by an appearance of neceſſity to the delivering up of the prince. The troops, who entered his country with pretended hoſtilities, carried to him the price ſet upon the head of Solimân.

Seized,

The unfortunate youth, being apprized of his danger, fled over the frightful mountains which ſeparate Serinagur from Tibet. Three friends accompanied him in this impracticable attempt. The ſides of theſe mountains are covered with impervious foreſts, the haunts of beaſts of prey; on their top dwells a perpetual ſtorm. Rapid rivers and impaſſable torrents occupy the vallies; except where ſome bruſhwood here and there hides dangerous and venomous ſnakes. It was then the rainy ſeaſon; and miſt and darkneſs covered the deſart with additional horror. The unhappy fugitives, not daring to truſt any guide, loſt their way. When they thought themſelves on the borders of Tibet, they were again within ſight of Serinagur. Worn out with fatigue, they took ſhelter under a rock, where they were diſcovered by a ſhepherd, who gave them ſome refreſhment, but at the ſame time informed the Raja of what he had ſeen. That chief ſent his ſon with a party to ſeize Solimân. The prince was

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aſleep when they arrived in ſight; but he was rouzed by one of his three friends who kept the watch. They took to their arms. The young Raja plied them with arrows from a diſtance, and two of the prince's companions were ſlain. He himſelf was wounded. He fell under this unequal mode of attack; and was brought bound into the preſence of the Raja.

and ſent to Delhi.

That prince began to excuſe his breach of hoſpitality by public neceſſity. He diminiſhed the independence of his own ſituation, and magnified the power of Aurungzêbe. "To ſeize an unfortunate fugitive," ſaid Solimân, "is a crime; but it is aggravated by the inſult of making an apology, for what Heaven and mankind abhor. Take your reward for my life; it alleviates the misfortunes of my ſituation, that now I owe you nothing for the friendſhip which you exhibited upon my arrival in your dominions." He turned his eyes in ſilence to the ground; and, without a murmur, permitted himſelf to be carried priſoner to Delhi. The emperor affected to be diſpleaſed, that the unhappy prince had fallen into his hands. To leave him at large was impoſſible; and even the walls of a priſon were not a ſufficient ſecurity, againſt the deſigns which the diſaffected might form in his favour. He ordered him to be brought into the hall of audience, in the preſence of all the nobles; even the chief ladies of the haram were indulged with a ſight of a young prince, as famous for his exploits, as for his misfortunes.

Brought before the emperor.

When he had entered the outer-gate of the palace, the chains were ſtruck off from his feet; but the fetters of gold were left upon his hands. The whole court were ſtruck with the ſtately gracefulneſs of his perſon; they were touched with grief at his melancholy fate. Many of the nobles could not refrain from tears; the ladies of the haram weeped aloud behind the ſcreens.

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Hig. 1071.

Even the heart of Aurungzêbe began to relent; and a placid anxiety ſeemed to wander over his face Solimân remained ſilent, with his eyes fixed on the ground. "Fear nothing, Solimân Shekô," ſaid the emperor; "I am not cruel but cautious. Your father fell as a man deſtitute of all religion; but you ſhall be treated well." The prince bowed his head; and then raiſed his hands as high as his fetters would permit, according to the cuſtom in the Imperial preſence. He then addreſſed himſelf to the emperor. "If my death is neceſſary for the ſafety of Aurungzêbe, let me preſently die, for I am reconciled to my fate. But let me not linger in priſon, to languiſh away by degrees, by the means of draughts, which deprive the mind of reaſon, when they enfeeble the body." This alluded to an infuſion of poppy, which the impriſoned princes were forced to drink in Gualiâr. It emaciated them exceedingly, their ſtrength and underſtanding left them by degrees, they became torpid and inſenſible, till they were at laſt relieved by death. The emperor deſired him to reſt ſatisfied that no deſign was entertained againſt his life. He was ſent that very night to Agra, and ſoon after ordered to Gualiâr, with the prince Mahommed, the emperor's eldeſt ſon.

Embaſſies from Perſia and Tartary.

The impriſonment of Solimân put an end to the fears of Aurungzêbe. He found himſelf firmly ſeated on the throne; and mankind were unwilling to diſturb the tranquillity which they enjoyed under his prudent adminiſtration. Peace prevailed all over the empire. The moſt diſtant and inacceſſible provinces became pervious to his authority. He extinguiſhed party, by retaining no appearance of revenge againſt thoſe who had oppoſed his elevation. He made friends of his enemies by conferring upon them favours; and he ſecured the faith of his friends by repoſing in them his confidence. The neighbouring ſtates, who had remained unconcerned ſpectators of the civil wars, acknowledged

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Hig 1071.

the right which Aurungzêbe had acquired by his fortune and addreſs. An ambaſſador arrived from Shaw Abas the Second of Perſia, to felicitate him on his acceſſion to the throne; and he was followed by another from Suja king of the weſtern Tartary. The emperor's pride was flattered by the acquieſcence of theſe two powerful monarchs, in his title to the crown. He received their repreſentatives with unuſual pomp; and at the ſame time that he gratified the princes with magnificent preſents, he enriched the ambaſſadors with very conſiderable ſums of money.

Shaw Allum declared heir of the empire.

The folly of the prince Mahommed had totally eſtranged from him the affections of his father: his obſtinacy and daring diſpoſition had rendered him an object of terror to the provident mind of Aurungzêbe. That monarch had reſolved to keep him always a cloſe priſoner in Gualiâr: he, however, allowed him a houſehold, and the company of women. This humane treatment had raiſed the hopes of the prince of being ſpeedily releaſed. He wrote to his father penitential letters; but they produced no anſwer. Mahommed, in the vigour of his own mind, had a crime which could not be forgiven. Mauzim the ſecond ſon, took advantage of his brother's misfortune. He redoubled his attention to his father's orders; and ſeemed to obey with ſo much humility, that he eradicated all fears of wiſhing to command from his ſuſpicious mind. To cut off the hopes of Mahommed, as well as to ſecure the affections of Mauzim, the latter was publicly declared heir of the empire, and his name changed to that of Shaw Allum, or, King of the World. A ſon was ſoon after born to that prince; and his birth was celebrated with uncommon ſplendour and feſtivity.

A dreadful famine.

In the midſt of this public joy, the news of a dreadful calamity was received at court. A prodigious famine, occaſioned by the

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uncommon drought of the ſeaſon which burnt up the harveſt, prevailed in different parts of India. The emperor exerted himſelf with a humanity unſuitable to his behaviour toward his own family, to alleviate the diſtreſs of his ſubjects. He remitted the taxes that were due; he employed thoſe already collected in the purchaſe of corn, which was diſtributed among the poorer ſort. He even expended immenſe ſums out of the treaſury, in conveying grain by land as well as by water into the interior provinces, from Bengal and the countries which lie on the five branches of the Indus, as having ſuffered leſs on account of the great rivers by which they are watered. The grain ſo conveyed was purchaſed, at any price, with the public money; and it was reſold at a very moderate rate. The poorer ſort were ſupplied, at fixed places, with a certain quantity, without any conſideration whatever. The activity of the emperor, and his wiſe regulations, carried relief through every corner of his dominions. Whole provinces were delivered from impending deſtruction; and many millions of lives were ſaved.

Wiſdom and humanity of of Aurungzêbe.

This humane attention to the ſafety of his ſubjects obliterated from their minds all objections to his former conduct. He even began to be virtuous. The ambition which made him wade through blood to the throne, inclined him to the purſuit of fame, which can only be acquired by virtue. “No man,” obſerves a Perſian author, “is a tyrant for the ſake of evil. Paſſion perverts the judgment, a wrong judgment begets oppoſition, and oppoſition is the cauſe of cruelty, bloodſhed, and civil war. When all oppoſition is conquered, the ſword of vengeance is ſheathed, and the deſtroyer of mankind becomes the guardian of the human ſpecies.” Such are the reflections of a writer, who publiſhed the hiſtory of Aurungzêbe in the heart of his court; and that they were juſt, appears from his having the boldneſs to make them.

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To alleviate the calamity which had fallen on the people, was the principal, if not the ſole buſineſs of the emperor during the third year of his reign. A favourable ſeaſon ſucceeded to his care; and the empire ſoon wore its former face of proſperity.

A war on the coaſt of Malabâr.

In the month of September of the year 1661, the news of the breaking out of a war on the frontiers of the Decan, was brought to Aurungzêbe. The Imperial governor, Shaiſta Chan, irritated at the depredatory incurſions of the ſubjects of Sewâji, prince of Côkin or Concan, on the coaſt of Malabâr, led an army into his country. Sewâji, unable to cope with the Imperialiſts in the field, retired into the heart of his dominions to levy troops; and left his frontier towns expoſed. They fell, one by one, before the power of Shaiſta, and that lord at length ſat down before Chagna, one of the principal places, both for conſequence and ſtrength, in the province of Côkin. It was ſituated on a high rock, ſteep and inacceſſible on every ſide. The utmoſt efforts of Shaiſta were baffled. He had made breaches in the parapet, on the edge of the rock, but he could not aſcend with an aſſault. When he attempted to apply ſcaling ladders, the beſieged rolled down huge ſtones upon him, and cruſhed whole ſquadrons of his troops. To raiſe the ſiege would bring diſgrace; to take the place ſeemed now impoſſible.

Shaiſta, in the mean time, fell upon an ingenious contrivance, which produced the deſired effect. A hill roſe, at ſome diſtance from the fort; from the top of which, every thing which paſſed within the walls could be ſeen through a ſpy-glaſs. The captain-general ſtood frequently on this hill to reconnoitre the place. He obſerved that, at a certain hour every day, the garriſon was ſupplied with ammunition from a magazine in the center of the fort. He had no mortars in his train; it having been found

impoſſible

impoſſible to carry them acroſs the immenſe ridge of mountains which ſeparate the Decan from Malabâr. He, however, fell upon an effectual expedient. The wind blowing freſh from the hill upon the town, he let fly a paper-kite, which concealed a blind match, at the very inſtant that the garriſon was ſupplying themſelves with powder from the magazine. He permitted it to drop in the midſt; by an accident the match fell upon ſome powder which happened to be ſtrewed around. The fire communicated with the magazine; and the whole went off with a dreadful exploſion, which ſhook the country, threw down the greateſt part of the fort, and buried the moſt of the garriſon in the ruins. The Moguls aſcended in the confuſion; and thoſe who had eſcaped the ſhock, fell by the ſword.

The Maraja ſent

The emperor was ſo much pleaſed with the expedition of Shaiſta into Malabâr, that he reſolved to reinforce him to complete the conqueſt of Côkin. The Maraja, who, for his deſertion of Dara, had been placed in the government of Guzerat, was ordered to march to join Shaiſta with twenty thouſand horſe. That prince, fond of the activity and tumult of expedition, obeyed the Imperial mandate without heſitation. He arrived in the camp before the news of his march had reached the captain-general. Being naturally haughty and violent, he diſapproved of Shaiſta's mode of carrying on the war. He pretended that he was ſent to aſſiſt him with his counſel as well as with his arms; and that he was reſolved, if he did not alter his plan, to complete the conqueſt of Côkin with his own troops. Shaiſta would relinquiſh no part of his power. He commanded him upon his allegiance to obey. The Maraja was provoked beyond meaſure, at a treatment ſo humiliating to his pride. He thwarted privately the meaſures of the captain-general; and that lord began to exerciſe over him all the rigour of authority.

A. D. 1663. Hig. 1073.

to reinforce the army.

The Maraja, whoſe honour was not proof againſt his more violent paſſions, formed a plot againſt Shaiſta's life. The nobles of the firſt rank are permitted, by the patent of their creation, to have, among their other marks of dignity, a band of muſic, conſiſting of drums, fifes, trumpets, cymbals, and other warlike inſtruments. Theſe have an apartment over the gates of their palaces in cities, in the camp a tent near that of their lord, is aſſigned to them; where they relieve one another, and play, when not prohibited, night and day. The Maraja, under a pretence that the captain-general was much pleaſed with their muſic, ſent them one night a preſent of five hundred roupees, in their maſter's name; and commanded them, to continue to play till next morning. They accordingly ſtruck up after ſupper; and made a prodigious noiſe. Shaiſta, not averſe to muſic, took no notice of this uncommon attention in his band.

His plot to aſſaſſinate

When the camp became ſilent toward midnight, the Maraja, who, having a correſpondence with Sewâji, had admitted a ſmall party of the enemy into the camp, ordered them to ſteal, unperceived, into the quarter of the captain-general. They, accordingly, paſſed the guards, and, cutting their way through the ſcreens which ſurrounded the tents of Shaiſta, entered that in which he ſlept. They ſearched in the dark for his bed. He awakened. Alarmed at their whiſpering, he ſtarted and ſeized a lance, which was the firſt weapon that met his hand. He, at that inſtant, received a blow with a ſword, which cut off three of his fingers, and obliged him to drop the lance. He called out aloud to the guards; but the noiſe of the muſic drowned his voice. He groped for the weapon; and with it defended his head from their ſwords. His ſon, who ſlept in the next tent, alarmed by the noiſe, ruſhed in with a lighted torch in his hand. The father and ſon fell then upon the aſſaſſins. Murderers are always cowards. They fled; but the ſon of Shaiſta expired of the wounds which he received in the conflict; and the father himſelf recovered with much difficulty.

the captain-general.

The Maraja, in the mean time, came, in ſeeming conſternation, to the quarter of the general. He lamented the accident; and condeſcended to take the command of the army till he ſhould recover. The officers ſuſpected the prince of the aſſaſſination; but he had cut off the channels which could carry home a proof. Silence prevailed over the camp; and, though Shaiſta was not ſlain, the Maraja poſſeſſed every advantage which he had expected from the murder. Aurungzêbe, from his perfect knowledge of the diſpoſition of the Maraja, was ſatisfied of his guilt. It would not, however, be either prudent or effectual to order him to appear to anſwer for his crimes in the preſence: he knew that his boldneſs was equal to his wickedneſs. He, therefore, ſuppreſſed his reſentment; and drew a veil on his deſigns, to lull the prince into ſecurity. He affected to lament the accident which had befallen to his general; but he rejoiced that the management of the war had come into ſuch able hands.

Aurungzêbe falls ſick.

When the affairs of Aurungzêbe wore the moſt promiſing aſpect, he was near loſing, by his own death, the empire which he had acquired by the murder of his relations. On the twenty-fifth of May, he fell into a fever. His diſtemper was ſo violent, that he was almoſt deprived of his reaſon. His tongue was ſeized with a palſy; he loſt his ſpeech, and all deſpaired of his recovery. The people were ſilent; and looked forward for a ſudden revolution. Intrigues for the empire commenced. The lords met in private in their palaces; the court, the haram, were full of ſchemes. It was already whiſpered abroad, that he was actually dead. Some regretted him as an able prince, ſome as a great general; many were of opinion, that Heaven had interfered in puniſhing his injuſtice to his relations. His ſiſter, the princeſs Roſhinâra, who had poſſeſſed his confidence, was thought to conceal his death till her own plans for the ſucceſſion of his younger ſon to the throne ſhould be ripe for execution.

Conſternation of the people.

Uncertain and improbable rumours were, in the mean time, circulated, and ſwallowed with avidity by the people. Their affections for the old emperor being ſtill entire, they created fictions to flatter their wiſhes. The Maraja, they ſaid, was in full march to releaſe him from confinement. Mohâbet, ever averſe to Aurungzêbe, was on his way with an army for the ſame purpoſe, from Cabul; and had already paſſed Lahore. The people of Agra, they affirmed, were actuated by tumult and commotion; the garriſon of the citadel was mutinous, and Etabâr, who commanded in the place, waited only for the news of the death of the new emperor to open the gates to his ancient lord. Though it was impoſſible that theſe fictions could have any probable foundation, from the ſhortneſs of the time, they were received with implicit faith by a credulous multitude. The very ſhopkeepers and artizans neglected their buſineſs for news. They gathered together in groups; and one continued whiſper of important and incredible events flew over all the ſtreets of Delhi.

Shaw Allum intrigues for the throne.

The prince Shaw Allum was not, in the mean time, idle. He ſecretly waited upon many of the nobility, and ſolicited their intereſt, with large promiſes of gratitude and advantage, in the event of his father's demiſe. Roſhinâra, who was beſt acquainted with the intentions of the emperor, inſinuated, that the ſucceſſion was to fall on Akbâr, as yet but a boy. Both parties averred, however, in public, that at preſent there was no occaſion for a new prince. Aurungzêbe himſelf, they ſaid, only managed the empire during the debility of mind which his illneſs

A. D. 1664.
Hig 1074.

had brought upon Shaw Jehân. That monarch, continued they, being now recovered, will reſume the reins of government; and diſpoſe of the ſucceſſion in favour of any of his poſterity whom he ſhall think worthy of the throne of the Moguls. The people already believed themſelves under the government of the old emperor. The nobility entertained no reſolution of that kind. Their acquieſcence under Aurungzêbe, had rendered them afraid of the reſtoration of his father. They knew that the Maraja and Mohâbet, who ſtill profeſſed themſelves the friends of the latter, would, in the event of his enlargement, carry all before them; and feared the violence of the firſt, as much as they dreaded the abilities of the ſecond.

Anxiety

Etabâr, who commanded the citadel of Agra, ſeemed now to have the fate of the empire in his hands. To open the gates to Shaw Jehân, was to involve all in confuſion; though it might be expected, that from the attachment of the people to their ancient ſovereign, tumult and commotion would ſoon ſubſide. Aurungzêbe, in the ſhort intervals of his exceſſive pain, applied his mind to buſineſs. He gathered the ſenſe of the people from the dark anxiety which covered the features of his attendants. He called his ſon Shaw Allum before him. He deſired him to keep himſelf in readineſs in caſe of his death; to ride poſt to Agra, and to take the merit of releaſing Shaw Jehân. "Your only hopes of empire, and even the ſafety of your perſon," ſaid he, "will depend upon the gratitude of your grandfather. Let not, therefore, any other perſon deprive you of that advantage." He then called for pen and ink, and wrote to Etabâr, to keep a ſtrict watch upon the emperor: "As my death is not certain," ſaid Aurungzêbe, "let not your fears perſuade you to truſt to the gratitude of any man."

of Aurungzêbe.

The anxiety ſhewn by the emperor on the occaſion, convinced mankind that he thought his own recovery doubtful. The lords quitted the palace, and each began to prepare againſt the worſt events. He ſent, on the fifth day, a ſummons to all the nobility to come to the hall of audience. He ordered himſelf to be carried into the aſſembly; and he requeſted them, from his bed, to prevent tumults and commotions. "A lion," ſaid he, alluding to his father, "is chained up; and it is not your intereſt to permit him to break looſe. He is exaſperated by real injuries; and he fancies more than he feels." He then called for the great ſeal of the empire, which he had intruſted to the princeſs Roſhinâra. He ordered it to be ſealed up in a ſilken bag, with his private ſignet, and to be placed by his ſide. His exertion to ſpeak to the nobles threw him into a ſwoon. They thought him dead. A murmur flew around. He, however, recovered himſelf; and ordering Joy Singh and ſome of the principal lords to approach, he took them by the hand. Day after day he was thus brought into the preſence of the nobility. All intrigues ceaſed at the hopes of his recovery. On the tenth day of his illneſs, the fever began to leave him, and, on the thirteenth, though weak, he was apparently out of danger. The ſtorm that was gathering, ſubſided at once. A ſerene calm ſucceeded; and people wondered why their minds had been agitated and diſcompoſed, by the hopes and fears of revolution and change.

He recovers.

The ſickneſs of Aurungzêbe was productive of a diſcovery of importance, to a monarch of his jealous and provident diſpoſition. He found that Shaw Allum, whom he had deſigned for his ſucceſſor in the throne, had ſhewn more eagerneſs in forwarding the ſchemes of his own ambition, than anxiety for the recovery of his father. He alſo found, from the reception given to the ſolicitations of the prince by the nobility, that his influence was too inconſiderable to ſecure to him the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the empire. His pride was hurt by the firſt; his prudence penetrated into the cauſe of the ſecond. He had long thought the ſelf-denial of his ſon to be a cloke for ſome deep-laid deſign; and an accident had convinced him of the truth of what he had ſuſpected before. The mother of Shaw Allum was only the daughter of a petty Raja. Aurungzêbe had, on account of her beauty, taken her to wife; but the meanneſs of her birth had left a kind of diſgrace on her ſon in the eyes of the nobles, who revered the high blood of the houſe of Timur. The emperor, therefore, in his youngeſt ſon, found a remedy againſt the objections of the nobility to Shaw Allum. That prince was born to Aurungzêbe by the daughter of Shaw Nawâz, of the Imperial houſe of Seſi. The Perſian nobility, who were numerous in the ſervice of the empire, diſcovered a great attachment to Akbâr; and even the Moguls preferred him on account of the purity of his blood, to his brother. The affections of the emperor were alſo in his favour; and he now ſeriouſly endeavoured to pave his way to the ſucceſſion.

His demands

When the family of Dara had, with the unfortunate prince, fallen into the hands of Aurungzêbe, that monarch had, at the requeſt of his father and the princeſs Jehanâra, delivered over the only daughter of Dara into their hands. She remained in the priſon at Agra with her grandfather. Aurungzêbe, upon his recovery, wrote a letter, full of profeſſions of regard, to his father; and he concluded it with a formal demand of the daughter of Dara, for his ſon Akbâr; hoping, by that connection, to ſecure the influence of the young prince among the nobles. The fierce ſpirit of Shaw Jehân took fire; Jehanâra's indignation aroſe. They rejected the propoſition with diſdain; and the old emperor returned for anſwer, That the inſolence of Aurungzêbe was equal to his crimes. The young princeſs was, in the mean time, alarmed. She

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She feared force, where intreaty had not prevailed. She concealed a dagger in her boſom; and declared, that ſhe would ſuffer death a hundred times over, before ſhe would give her hand to the ſon of her father's murderer. Shaw Jehân did not fail to acquaint Aurungzêbe of her reſolution, in her own words; and that prince, with his uſual prudence, deſiſted from his deſign. He even took no notice of the harſhneſs of his father's letter. He wrote to him, ſoon after, for ſome of the Imperial jewels, to adorn his throne. "Let him govern with more juſtice," ſaid Shaw Jehân; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious ſtones. The hammers are ready which will cruſh them to duſt, when he importunes me for them again."

on his impriſoned father.

Aurungzêbe received the reproaches of his father with his wonted coolneſs. He even wrote back to Agra, that "to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful ſervant. Let Shaw Jehân keep his jewels," ſaid he, "nay more, let him command all thoſe of Aurungzêbe. His amuſements conſtitute a part of the happineſs of his ſon." The old emperor was ſtruck with this conduct. He knew it to be feigned; but the power of his ſon to inforce his requeſts gave value to his moderation. He accordingly ſent to him a preſent of jewels, with a part of the enſigns of Imperial dignity, to the value of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. He accompanied them with a ſhort letter: "Take theſe, which I am deſtined to wear no more. Your fortune has prevailed.—But your moderation has more power than your fortune over Shaw Jehân. Wear them with dignity; and make ſome amends to your family for their misfortunes, by your own renown." Aurungzêbe burſt into tears upon the occaſion; and he was thought ſincere. The ſpoils of Suja were, on the ſame day, preſented at the foot of his throne. His fears being now removed, there was room left for humanity. He ordered them from his ſight, and then retired, in a melancholy mood, from the hall of audience.

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Shaw Allum ſent to the Decan;

During theſe tranſactions at court, Shaw Allum was commiſſioned by his father to take the command of the Imperial army in the Decan; Shaiſta being rendered unfit for that charge by the wounds which he had received from the aſſaſſins, armed againſt him by the Maraja. The forwardneſs of the prince in making a party during his father's illneſs, adhered to the mind of Aurungzêbe; but he concealed his ſentiments on that ſubject. There, however, ſubſiſted a coolneſs, which the accurate obſervers of human nature could plainly perceive, in the conduct of the emperor; and his abridging the power and revenue of his ſon, when he appointed him to the government of the Decan, ſhewed that he diſtruſted his loyalty. Men, who are willing to ſuppoſe that Aurungzêbe ſacrificed every other paſſion to ambition, affirm, that he became even careleſs about the life of his ſon; and they relate a ſtory to ſupport the juſtice of the obſervation. A lion iſſuing from a foreſt not far diſtant from Delhi, did a great deal of miſchief in the open country. The emperor, in an aſſembly of the nobles, coolly ordered his ſon to bring him the ſkin of the lion; without permitting him to make the neceſſary preparations for this dangerous ſpecies of hunting. Shaw Allum, whoſe courage was equal to his reſervedneſs and moderation, cheerfully obeyed; and when the maſter of the huntſmen propoſed to provide him with nets, he ſaid: "No; Aurungzêbe, when at my age, feared not to attack any beaſt of prey, without formal preparations." He ſucceeded in his attempt; and brought the lion's ſkin to his father.

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and Mohâbet to Guzerat.

The arrival of the prince in the Decan ſuperſeded the Maraja, who, during the illneſs of Shaiſta, commanded the army. He requeſted to be permitted to return to his government of Guzerat; but it had been conferred upon Mohâbet. This lord, during the troubles which convulſed the empire, remained quiet in his government of the city and province of Cabul. He retained his loyalty to Shaw Jehân; and executed the duties of his office in the name of that prince. After the death of Dara, and the flight of Suja beyond the limits of the empire, he ſaw an end to all the hopes of the reſtoration of his ancient lord. He, therefore, began to liſten to the propoſals of Aurungzêbe. That prince informed him, that inſtead of being offended at his attachment to his ancient lord, he was much pleaſed with his loyalty. That ſuch honour, conduct, and bravery, as thoſe of Mohâbet, far from raiſing the jealouſy of the reigning prince, were deemed by him as valuable acquiſitions to his empire; and that to ſhew the ſincerity of his profeſſions, he had ſent him a commiſſion to govern, in quality of viceroy, the opulent kingdom of Guzerat.

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. V.

Recovery of the emperor—Progreſs to Caſhmire—Diſturbances in Guzerat—Conqueſt of Aſſâm—Death and character of Meer Jumla—Inſurrection of Fakiers—quelled—An univerſal peace—Death of the prince Mahommed—War with Sewâji—Death of the emperor Shaw Jehân—Anecdotes of his private life—Grief of Aurungzêbe—Strange conduct and flight of Sewâji—The Maraja diſcontented—War againſt Arracân—Chittagong reduced.

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Hig. 1074.

Recovery of the emperor.

THOUGH Aurungzêbe was judged out of danger on the thirteenth day of his illneſs, his diſorder hung upon him for more than two months. His application to buſineſs was an enemy to the ſpeedy reſtoration of his health; but the annual rains, which commenced in July, having rendered the air more cool, his fever entirely left him, and he ſoon regained his former ſtrength. His phyſicians adviſed him to avoid, by an expedition to Caſhmire, the heat of the enſuing ſeaſon; and his favourite ſiſter Rochinâra, whoſe counſel he generally followed, being very deſirous of viſiting that delightful country, perſuaded him to prepare for his progreſs. The affairs of the empire had become ſettled with his returning health. The hopes of novelty had ſubſided in the minds of the people; and the preciſion with which government was carried on, left room for neither their hopes nor their fears. The ſu-

perficial

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perficial judges of things however blamed the emperor for quitting the center of his dominions; whilſt his father remained a priſoner in his own capital. Aurungzêbe judged of the future by the paſt; the nobles were tired of revolution and war, and the vulgar are ſeldom mutinous or troubleſome, where no glaring oppreſſion exiſts.

His progreſs

About the middle of December 1644, the emperor, after a tedious preparation for his progreſs, left Delhi; and moved toward Lahore, at which city he arrived by ſlow marches at the end of ſeven weeks. The army which accompanied him in this tour, conſiſted of near fifty thouſand men, excluſive of the retinues of his nobles, and the neceſſary followers of the camp. The heavy baggage and artillery kept the common highway, but the emperor himſelf deviated often into the country, to enjoy the diverſion of hunting. The princeſs Rochinâra, fond of pomp and magnificence, was indulged in her favourite paſſion by the ſplendor of her cavalcade. The emperor, who in a great meaſure owed his ſucceſs to the intelligence which ſhe had from time to time tranſmitted to him from the haram, ſhewed himſelf grateful. Her jealouſy of the influence of Jehanâra over her father firſt attached her to the intereſts of Aurungzêbe; and the partiality ſhewn by her ſiſter to Dara, naturally threw Rochinâra into the ſcale of his foe. Her abilities rendered her fit for politics and intrigue; and the warmth of her conſtitution, which ſhe could not conſecrate to pleaſure, adapted her for buſineſs and action.

to Caſhmire.

The progreſs of the prince did not obſtruct the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſtate. Attended by all his officers, the deciſions of each department were carried from the camp to every corner of the empire. Expreſſes ſtood ready on horſeback at every ſtage; and the Imperial mandates were diſpatched to the various provinces as ſoon as they were ſeated in the tent of audience. The nobles, as was cuſtomary in the capital, attended daily the preſence; and appeals were diſcuſſed every morning as regularly as when the emperor remained at Delhi. The petitioners followed the court; and a ſmall allowance from the public treaſury was aſſigned to them, as a compenſation for their additional expence in attending the Imperial camp. In this manner Aurungzêbe arrived at Caſhmire. The beauty, the cool and ſalubrious air of that country, induced him to relax his mind for a ſhort time from buſineſs. He wandered over that charming valley, after a variety of pleaſures; and he ſoon recovered that vigour of conſtitution which his attention to public buſineſs, as well as his late ſickneſs, had greatly impaired.

Diſturbances

The univerſal peace which had encouraged the emperor to undertake his progreſs to Caſhmire, was not of long continuance. Diſturbances broke out in the kingdom of Guzerat. The Rajas of the mountains, thinking the tribute which they paid to the empire too high, rebelled. Rai Singh was choſen chief of the confederacy. They joined their forces, and, iſſuing from their narrow valleys, preſented a conſiderable army in the open country. Cuttub, a general of experience, was ordered againſt them with the troops ſtationed in the adjacent provinces. He arrived before the rebels, and encamped in their preſence. Both armies entrenched themſelves, and watched the motions of each other. The commanders were determined not to fight at a diſadvantage; and they continued to haraſs one another with flying parties, whilſt the main bodies remained in their reſpective camps. Slight ſkirmiſhes happened every day, in which neither ſide arrogated to themſelves any great advantage.

in Guzerat

The mountaineers, being chiefly of the Rajaput tribe, at length reſolved to continue no longer inactive. The nights, being lighted

with

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with the increaſing moon, were unſuitable for a ſurprize; but an accident happened which favoured their deſigns. Under the cover of a flying ſhower, they fell upon the Moguls. Advancing in a cloud, they came unperceived to the intrenchments; and many had clambered over the walls before the ſentries gave the alarm. A ſudden tumult and confuſion flew over the camp; and a dreadful ſlaughter commenced. The Moguls had no time either to arm or to form. The horſes broke looſe from their piquets, and ruſhed, in diſorder, over men, and tents, and baggage, and arms. Some who had mounted were thrown headlong with their horſes over the tent-ropes, and other embarraſſments of the camp.

quelled.

A few in the mean time oppoſed the enemy in a tumultuous manner. The Rajaputs themſelves were in diſorder. The confuſion and terror of the ſcene intimidated all. They withdrew on both ſides; as they could not diſtinguiſh friends from foes. The night was full of horror. Every heart beat with fear; every tongue joined in the uproar; every eye looked impatiently for day. The light of morning at length appeared; and a ſudden ſhout from both armies gave teſtimony of their joy. Preferring certain danger to evils which they could not diſtinguiſh clearly, each ſide, on the approach of battle, diſcovered that elevation of ſpirit which others derive from victory. The rebels renewed the attack, but the Imperial general, who had improved the ſuſpenſion of battle, was now prepared to receive them. Rai Singh, with a body of his officers, charged in the front of the Rajaputs, and ſuſtained the whole ſhock of the Moguls. Three hundred perſons of rank, with Rai Singh, the general of the confederates, lay dead on the field; fifteen hundred of their followers were ſlain, the remaining part of the rebels having fled, and left their camp ſtanding to the victors. The Imperial general purſued the fugitives into their mountains; and, in the ſpace of ſix months, he reduced their whole country,

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try, and, depriving the princes of their hereditary juriſdictions, he ſubjected the people to the authority of temporary governors, who derived their power from Aurungzêbe.

Invaſion of

During theſe tranſactions in the north and weſt, Jumla continued in the government of Bengal. After the total defeat and flight of Suja, he returned to the capital of his province to regulate public affairs, thrown into confuſion by a length of hoſtilities. Aurungzêbe, jealous of the great power and reputation of Jumla, had ſignified to that lord, that his preſence in the capital would be ſoon neceſſary for diſcharging the duties of his high office of viſier. He at the ſame time informed him, that he longed much to have an opportunity of expreſſing in perſon the high ſenſe which he entertained of his eminent ſervices. Jumla, who preferred the pomp and activity of the field to the ſedentary buſineſs of the cloſet, ſignified to the emperor his deſire of continuing in his province; pointing out a ſervice, from which the empire might derive great advantage, and he himſelf conſiderable honour.

the kingdom

Aurungzêbe, who was unwilling to diſcover his jealouſy to a man whom he eſteemed as well as feared, acquieſced in the propoſals of Jumla. He, however, reſolved to point out to that lord an enemy, which might divert him from any deſigns he might have to fortify himſelf in the rich and ſtrong kingdom of Bengal againſt the empire. An army inured to war were devoted to Jumla; and his ambition was not greater than his ability to gratify it in the higheſt line. To the north of Bengal lies the rich province of Aſſâm, which diſcharges the great river Baramputre into the branch of the Ganges which paſſes by Dacca. The king of Aſſâm, falling down this river in his fleet of boats, had, during the civil wars, not only ravaged the lower Bengal, but appropriated to himſelf what part of that country lies between the Ganges at Dacca and the mountains which environ Aſſâm. His power and wealth made

him

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him an object of glory as well as of plunder; and Jumla received an Imperial mandate to march againſt him with his army.

of Aſſâm.

Jumla, having filed off his troops by ſquadrons toward Dacca, joined them at that city; and, embarking them on the Baramputre, moved up into the country which the king of Aſſâm had long ſubjected to depredation. No enemy appeared in the field. They had withdrawn to the fortreſs of Azo, which the king had built on the ſide of the mountains which looks toward Bengal. Jumla inveſted the place, and forced the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion; then, entering the mountains of Aſſâm, defeated the king in a pitched battle, and beſieged him in his capital of Kirganu. The vanquiſhed prince was ſoon obliged to leave the city, with all its wealth, to the mercy of the enemy, and to take refuge, with a few adherents, in the mountains of Laſſa. In many naval conflicts on the river and great lakes, through which it flowed, Jumla came off victorious; and the ſmall forts on the banks fell ſucceſſively into his hands.

Retreat,

Thus far ſucceſs attended the arms of Jumla. But the rainy ſeaſon came on with unuſual violence, and covered the valley which forms the province of Aſſâm, with water. There was no room left for retreating; none for advancing beyond Kirganu. The mountains around were involved in tempeſt, and, beſides, were full of foes. The king, upon the approach of the Imperialiſts, removed the grain to the hills; and the cattle were driven away. Diſtreſs, in every form, attacked the army of Jumla. They had wealth, but they were deſtitute of proviſions, and of every thing neceſſary for ſupporting them in the country till the return of the fair ſeaſon. To remain was impoſſible: to retreat almoſt impracticable. The king had deſtroyed the roads in the paſſes of the mountains; and he haraſſed the march of the Imperialiſts with inceſſant ſkirmiſhes. Jumla, in the mean time, conducted his meaſures with his wonted abilities and prudence; and carried back his army, covered with glory, and loaded with wealth, into the territory near the entrance of the mountains from Bengal.

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death,

Expreſſes carried the news of the ſucceſs of Jumla to the emperor. He acquainted Aurungzêbe that he had opened a paſſage, which, in another ſeaſon, might lead his arms to the borders of China. Elated with this proſpect of extending his conqueſts, he began to levy forces, and diſpatched orders to Jumla to be in readineſs for the field by the return of the ſeaſon. But the death of that general put an end to this wild deſign. Upon his arrival at Azo, a dreadful ſickneſs prevailed in the army, and he himſelf fell a victim to the epidemic malady which carried off his troops. Though the death of Jumla relieved the emperor of ſome of his political fears, he was affected by an event which he neither expected nor wiſhed. He owed much to the friendſhip of that great man; he admired his abilities and renown in arms.

and character of Jumla.

Though Jumla aroſe to the ſummit of greatneſs from a low degree, mankind aſcribed his elevation leſs to his fortune than to his great parts. Prudent, penetrating, and brave, he excelled all the commanders of his age and country in conduct, in ſagacity, and in ſpirit. During a war of ten years, when he commanded the army of the king of Tillingâna, he reduced the Carnatic and the neighbouring countries, with all their forts; ſome of which are ſtill impregnable againſt all the diſcipline of Europeans. He was calculated for the intrigues of the cabinet, as well as for the ſtratagems of the field. He was wiſe in planning; bold in execution; maſter of his mind in action, though elevated with all the fire of valour. In his private life he was amiable and humane; in his public tranſactions dignified and juſt. He diſdained to uſe ungenerous means againſt his enemies; and he even expreſſed his joy upon the eſcape of Suja from his arms. He was, upon the whole,

equal

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equal in abilities to Aurungzêbe, with no part of the duplicity which ſtampt ſome of the actions of that prince with meanneſs. Jumla, to his death, retained the name of Viſier, though the duties of the office were diſcharged by Raja Ragnatta, who did not long ſurvive him.

Inſurrection

The ſecurity which Aurungzêbe acquired by the defeat of ſo many formidable rivals, was diſturbed from a quarter which added ridicule to danger. In the territory of the prince of Marwâr, near the city of Nagur, there lived an old woman, who was arrived at the eightieth year of her age. She poſſeſſed a conſiderable hereditary eſtate, and had accumulated, by penury, a great ſum of money. Being ſeized with a fit of enthuſiaſm, ſhe became all of a ſudden prodigal of her wealth. Fakiers and ſturdy beggars, under a pretence of religion, to the number of five thouſand, gathered round her caſtle, and received her bounty. Theſe vagabonds, not ſatisfied with what the old woman beſtowed in charity, armed themſelves, and, making predatory excurſions into the country, returned with ſpoil to the houſe of their patroneſs, where they mixed intemperance and riot with devotion. The people, oppreſſed by theſe ſanctified robbers, roſe upon them, but they were defeated with great ſlaughter.

of

Repeated diſaſters of the ſame kind were at laſt attributed to the power of enchantment. This ridiculous opinion gaining ground, fear became predominant in the opponents of the Fakiers. The banditti, acquiring confidence from their ſucceſs, burnt and deſtroyed the country for many leagues; and ſurrounded the caſtle of the pretended enchantreſs with a deſart. The Raja marched againſt them with his native troops, but was defeated; the collectors of the Imperial revenue attacked them, but they were forced to give way. A report prevailed, and was eagerly believed by the multitude, that on a certain day of the moon, the old lady uſed to cook in the ſkull of an enemy, a meſs compoſed of owls, bats, ſnakes, lizards, human fleſh, and other horrid ingredients, which ſhe diſtributed to her followers. This abominable meal, it was believed by the rabble, had the ſurpriſing effect of not only rendering them void of all fear themſelves, and of inſpiring their enemies with terror, but even of making them inviſible in the hour of battle, when they dealt their deadly blows around.

Fakiers

Their numbers being now encreaſed to twenty thouſand, this motley army, with an old woman at their head, directed their march toward the capital. Biſtamia, for that was her name, was a commander full of cruelty. She covered her rout with murder and devaſtation, and hid her rear in the ſmoke of burning villages and towns. Having advanced to Narnoul, about five days journey from Agra, the collector of the revenue in that place oppoſed her with a force, and was totally defeated. The affair was now become ſerious, and commanded the attention of the emperor. He found that the minds of the ſoldiers were tainted with the prejudices of the people, and he thought it neceſſary to combat Biſtamia with weapons like her own. Sujait was ordered againſt the rebels. The emperor, in the preſence of the army, delivered to that general, billets written with his own hand, which were ſaid to contain magical incantations. His reputation for ſanctity was at leaſt equal to that of Biſtamia; and he ordered a billet to be carried on the point of a ſpear before each ſquadron, which the ſoldiers were made to believe would counteract the enchantments of the enemy. The credulity which induced them to dread the witchcraft of the old woman, gave them confidence in the pretended charm of Aurungzêbe.

quelled.

The Fakiers, after their victory at Narnoul, thought of nothing but the empire for their aged leader. Having rioted upon the

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ſpoils of the country for ſeveral days, they ſolemnly raiſed Biſtamia to the throne; which gave them an excuſe for feſtivity. In the midſt of their intemperate joy, Sujait made his appearance. They fought with the fury of fanatics; but when the idea of ſupernatural aid was diſpelled from the minds of the Imperialiſts, the Fakiers were not a match for their ſwords. It was not a battle, but a confuſed carnage: a few owed their lives to the mercy of Sujait, the reſt met the death which they deſerved. Aurungzêbe, when he received Sujait, after his victory, could not help ſmiling at the ridicule thrown upon his arms, by the oppoſition of an old woman at the head of a naked army of mendicants. "I find," ſaid he, "that too much religion among the vulgar, is as dangerous as too little in a monarch." The emperor, upon this occaſion, acted the part of a great prince, who turns the paſſions and ſuperſtitions of mankind, to the accompliſhment of his own deſigns. It was more eaſy to counteract the power, than to explode the doctrine of witchcraft.

An univerſal peace.

The ſeaſon of peace and public happineſs affords few materials for hiſtory. Had not the rage of conqueſt inflamed mankind, ancient times would have paſſed away in ſilence, and unknown. Æras are marked by battles, by the riſe of ſtates, the fall of empires, and the evils of human life. Years of tranquillity being diſtinguiſhed by no ſtriking object, are ſoon loſt to the ſight. The mind delights only in the relation of tranſactions which contribute to information, or awaken its tender paſſions. We wiſh to live in a peaceable age; but we read with moſt pleaſure the hiſtory of times abounding with revolutions and important events. A general tranquillity now prevailed over the empire of Hindoſtan. Aurungzêbe, pleaſed with the ſalubrious air of Caſhmire, continued long in that romantic country. Nothing marks the annals of that period, but a few changes in the departments of the court, and in the governments of provinces; which, though of ſome importance to the natives of India, would furniſh no amuſement in Europe.

Death of the prince Mahommed.

In the ſeventh year of the emperor's reign, his ſon the prince Mahommed died in priſon in the caſtle of Gualiâr. Impatient under his confinement, his health had been long upon the decline; and grief put at laſt an end to misfortune which the paſſions of youth had begun. His favourite wife, the daughter of Suja, was the companion of his melancholy; and ſhe pined away with ſorrow, as being the cauſe of the unhappy fate of her lord. Mahommed had long ſupported his ſpirits with the hopes that his father would relent; but the ſickneſs of the emperor, during which he had named another prince to the throne, confirmed him that his crime was not to be forgiven. Mahommed, though violent in the nobler paſſions of the human mind, was in his private character generous, friendly and humane. He loved battle for its dangers; he deſpiſed glory which was not purchaſed with peril. He was even diſappointed when an enemy fled; and was heard to ſay, That to purſue fugitives was only the buſineſs of a coward. But he was unfit for the cabinet; and rather a good partizan, than a great general in the field. He had boldneſs to execute any undertaking, but he wanted prudence to plan. Had his warm diſpoſition been tempered by length of years, he might have made a ſplendid figure. But he was overſet by the paſſions of youth, before experience had poiſed his mind.

War with Sewâji.

The war with Sewâji the prince of Cokin, on the coaſt of Malabar, which had been for ſome time diſcontinued, broke out this year with redoubled violence. The attempt of the Maraja upon the life of Shaiſta, though no proof could be carried home to that prince had induced Aurungzêbe to recal him with all his native forces.

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He would no longer truſt his affairs in the hands of a man, whoſe violent paſſions could not ſpare the life of a perſon with whom he lived in the habits of friendſhip. A truce, rather than a ſolid peace, had been patched up with the enemy; but their love of depredation overcame their public faith. The prince of Cokin made incurſions into the Decan; and complaints of his hoſtilities were carried to Aurungzêbe. Under the joint command of the Raja, Joy Singh and Dilêre, a conſiderable force was ſent againſt the enemy. He fled before them, and they entered his country at his heels. The ſtrong holds of his dominions ſoon fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Sewâji and his ſon ſurrendered themſelves to Joy Singh, and he ſent them under an eſcort to Delhi; to which city the emperor was now returned, after his long abſence in the north.

Death of Shaw Jehân.

The emperor Shaw Jehân, after an impriſonment of ſeven years ten months and ten days, died at Agra on the ſecond of February 1666. The ſame diforder which had loſt to him the empire, was the cauſe of his death. He languiſhed under it for fifteen days; and expired in the arms of his daughter Jehanâra, his faithful friend and companion in his confinement. Though Aurungzêbe had kept him with all imaginable caution in the citadel of Agra, he was always treated with diſtinction, tenderneſs and reſpect. The enſigns of his former dignity remained to him; he had ſtill his palace, and his garden of pleaſure. No diminution had been made in the number of his domeſtics. He retained all his women, ſingers, dancers and ſervants of every kind. The animals, in which he formerly delighted, were brought regularly into his preſence. He was gratified with the ſight of fine horſes, wild beaſts, and birds of prey. But he long continued melancholy; nothing could make a recompence for his loſs of power. He for ſeveral years could not bear to hear the name of Aurungzêbe, without breaking forth into rage; and, even till his death, none durſt mention his ſon as emperor of Hindoſtan.

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Anecdotes of his

They had endeavoured to conceal from him the death of Dara, but he knew it from the tears of Jehanâra. The particulars of the melancholy fate of his favourite ſon, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that, abſent in the violence of his paſſion, he took his ſword, and ruſhed to the gate of the palace. But it was ſhut; and reminded him of his loſt condition. Though the rebellion of Suja had enraged him againſt that prince, he loſt his wrath in the ſuperior crimes of Aurungzêbe. He heard with eagerneſs every turn of fortune in Bengal; and when the flight of Suja from that kingdom reached his ears, he abſtained from eating for two days. He, however, comforted himſelf with the hopes of his return; and, eager for the revenge of his wrongs upon Aurungzêbe, he attended with joy and ſatisfaction to the vague reports which were propagated concerning the appearance of his ſon, in various provinces of the empire. Accounts of the death of Suja came the year before his father's death. He burſt into a flood of tears: "Alas!" ſaid he, "could not the Raja of Arracân leave one ſon to Suja to revenge his grandfather?"

Aurungzêbe, whether from pity or deſign is uncertain, took various means to ſooth the melancholy of his father, and to reconcile him to his own uſurpation. To expreſs his tenderneſs for him, was inſult; he therefore flattered his pride. He affected to conſult him in all important affairs. He wrote him letters requeſting his advice; declaring that he reckoned himſelf only his vicegerent in the empire. Theſe artful expreſſions and the abſence of every appearance of reſtraint on his conduct, made at laſt an impreſſion upon his mind. But Aurungzêbe, building

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too much upon the ſucceſs of his art, had almoſt, by his demand of the daughter of Dara for his ſon, ruined all the progreſs which he had made. His apology for what his father called an inſult, obliterated his indiſcretion; and his abſtaining from force upon the occaſion, was eſteemed by Shaw Jehân a favour, which his pride forbade him to own.

Private life.

Shaw Jehân, brought up in the principles of his father and grandfather, was deſtitute of all religion in his youth. He had often been preſent when Jehangire, who delighted in diſputes on abſtruſe ſubjects, called before him Indian Brahmins, Chriſtian prieſts, and Mahommedan Mullas, to argue for their reſpective faiths. Jehangire who, with his want of credulity on the ſubject of religion, was weak in his underſtanding, was always ſwayed by the laſt who ſpoke. The Mahommedan, who claimed the pre-eminence of being firſt heard, came always off with the worſt; and the emperor, obſerving no order of time with regard to the Chriſtian and Indian, was alternately ſwayed by both. The Mulla ſaw the diſadvantage of his dignity; and, being deſignedly late in his appearance, one day he was heard after the prieſt. Jehangire was perplexed for whom he ſhould give his opinion. He aſked the advice of Shaw Jehân, and that prince archly replied, " That he too was at a loſs for whom to decide. But as each have eſtabliſhed the credit of their ſyſtems," ſaid he, " with a relation of miracles, let them both be put to that teſt. Let each take the book of his faith under his arm; let a fire be kindled round him; and the religion of him who ſhall remain unhurt, ſhall be mine." The Mulla looked pale at the deciſion, and declared againſt this mode of proving his faith: the prieſt knew the humane temper of the emperor, and offered himſelf for the pile. They were both diſmiſſed. But the misfortunes of Shaw Jehân rendered him devout in his latter days. The Coran was

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perpetually read in his preſence; and Mullas, who relieved one another by turns, were always in waiting.

Grief of Aurungzêbe.

The emperor, when firſt he heard of his father's illneſs, ordered his ſon Shaw Allum to ſet out with all expedition to Agra. "You have done no injury," ſaid he, "to my father; and he may bleſs you with his dying breath. But as for me, I will not wound him with my preſence; leſt rage might haſten death before his time." The prince rode poſt to Agra; but Shaw Jehân had expired two days before his arrival. His body was depoſited in the tomb of his favourite wife, Mumtâza Zemâni, with funeral ſolemnities rather decent than magnificent. When the news of the death of his father was carried to Aurungzêbe, he exhibited all the ſymptoms of unaffected grief. He inſtantly ſet off for Agra; and, when he arrived in that city, he ſent a meſſage to the princeſs Jehanâra to requeſt the favour of being admitted into her preſence. The requeſts of an emperor are commands. She had already provided for an interview; and ſhe received him with the utmoſt magnificence, preſenting him with a large golden baſon, in which were contained all the jewels of Shaw Jehân. This magnificent offering, together with the polite dexterity of the princeſs in excuſing her own former conduct, wrought ſo much on Aurungzêbe, that he received her into his confidence; which ſhe ever after ſhared in common with her ſiſter Rochinâra.

Strange conduct

The moſt remarkable tranſaction of the enſuing year, was the eſcape of the Raja Sewâji from Delhi; and his flight through by-roads and deſarts to his own country. The turbulent diſpoſition of that prince, and his depredatory incurſions into the Imperial dominions in the Decan, brought upon him the arms of Aurungzêbe, under the conduct of Joy Singh and Dilêre. Unfortunate in ſeveral battles, he ſhut himſelf up in his principal for-

treſs ;

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treſs; and, being reduced to extremities, he threw himſelf upon the mercy of the enemy; and was carried, as has been already related, to Delhi. Upon his arrival, he was ordered into the preſence, and commanded by the uſher to make the uſual obeiſance to the emperor. He refuſed to obey; and looking ſcornfully upon Aurungzêbe, exhibited every mark of complete contempt of his perſon. The emperor was much offended at the haughty demeanor of the captive; and he ordered him to be inſtantly carried away from his ſight.

and flight

The principal ladies of the haram, and, among them, the daughter of Aurungzêbe, ſaw from behind a curtain, the behaviour of Sewâji. She was ſtruck with the handſomeneſs of his perſon, and ſhe admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the ſubject of much converſation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf; and the princeſs was warm in her ſolicitations, at the feet of her father. "Though I deſpiſe pomp," ſaid Aurungzêbe, "I will have thoſe honours which the refractory preſume to refuſe. Power depends upon ceremony and ſtate, as much as upon abilities and ſtrength of mind. But to pleaſe a daughter whom I love, I will indulge Sewâji with an abatement of ſome of that obeiſance, which conquered princes owe to the emperor of the Moguls." A meſſage was ſent by the princeſs, in the warmth of her zeal; and the Raja, without being conſulted upon the meaſure, was again introduced into the hall of audience.

of Sewâji,

When he entered, the uſher approached, and commanded him to pay the uſual obeiſance at the foot of the throne. "I was born a prince," ſaid he, "and I know not how to act the part of a ſlave." "But the vanquiſhed," replied Aurungzêbe, "loſe all their rights with their fortune. The ſword has made Sewâji my

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my ſervant; and I am reſolved to relinquiſh nothing of what the ſword has given." The Raja turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to iſſue his commands againſt Sewâji, when that prince ſpoke thus, with a haughty tone of voice: "Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father: but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing ſhall extinguiſh but death." The wrath of the emperor ſubſided at a requeſt which he reckoned ridiculous and abſurd. He ordered him as a madman from his preſence; and gave him in charge to Fowlâd, the director-general of the Imperial camp. He was cloſely confined in that officer's houſe; but he found means to eſcape, after ſome months, in the diſguiſe of a man, who was admitted into his apartments with a baſket of flowers.

The Maraja diſcontented.

The war with Sewâji proved fatal to the Maraja's influence with Aurungzêbe. Naturally paſſionate, deceitful and imperious, he conſidered every order from the emperor, an injury. He had been gratified with the government of Guzerat, for deſerting the cauſe of the unfortunate Dara. When the three years of his ſubaſhip were expired, he received an Imperial mandate to repair, with the army ſtationed in his province, to the aſſiſtance of Shaiſta againſt Sewâji. On the way, it is ſaid, he entered into a correſpondence with that prince; being enraged to find, that the rich kingdom of Guzerat had been ſubmitted to the government of Mohâbet. It was from Sewâji, that the Maraja received the aſſaſſins, by whoſe means he had attempted to aſſaſſinate Shaiſta. He, however, covered his crime with ſo much art, that mankind in general believed, that it was only a party of the enemy, who had the boldneſs to ſurpriſe the general in his tent; attributing to the known intrepidity of Sewâji, what actually

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proceeded from the addreſs of Jeſſwint Singh. The emperor, who expected no good from an army commanded by two officers who diſagreed in their opinions, recalled them both, as has been already related; and patched up a temporary peace with the enemy. Shaiſta, disfigured and maimed with his wounds, returned to court; but the Maraja retired in diſguſt to his hereditary dominions.

Shaiſta made governor of Bengal.

Shaiſta, at once, as a reward for his ſervices, and a compenſation for his misfortunes, was raiſed to the government of Bengal, which had been manged by deputy ever ſince the death of Jumla. The affairs of the province ſtood in need of his preſence. The death of Jumla had encouraged the prince of Arracân to invade the eaſtern diviſion of Bengal. He poſſeſſed himſelf of all the country along the coaſt, to the Ganges; and maintained at Chittagong ſome Portugueſe banditti, as a barrier againſt the empire of the Moguls. Theſe robbers, under the protection of the invader, ſpread their ravages far and wide. They ſcoured the coaſt with their piratical veſſels; and extended their depredations through all the branches of the Ganges. The complaints of the oppreſſed province were carried to the throne; and Shaiſta was not only commiſſioned to extirpate the pirates, but even to penetrate with his arms into Arracân. A generous regret for Suja joined iſſue with an attention to the public benefit, in the mind of Aurungzêbe. The cruelty exerciſed againſt the unfortunate prince was not leſs an object of revenge, than the protection afforded to public robbers.

Takes the iſland Sindiep.

Shaiſta, upon his arrival in the province, ſent a fleet and three thouſand land forces, under the command of Haſſen Beg, againſt the Raja of Arracân. The fleet ſailed from Dacca, and falling down the great river, ſurpriſed the forts of Jugdea and Allum-

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gire Nagur, which the Raja had formerly diſmembered from Bengal. Shipping his land forces on board his fleet, he ſet ſail for the iſland of Sindiep, which lies on the coaſt of Chittagong. The enemy poſſeſſed in this iſland ſeveral ſtrong-holds, into which they retired, and defended themſelves with great bravery. The Mogul however, in the ſpace of a few weeks, reduced Sindiep, and took part of the fleet of Arracân. Haſſen's force being too ſmall to act upon the continent with any proſpect of ſucceſs, Shaiſta had, by this time, aſſembled ten thouſand horſe and foot at Dacca, with the command of which he inveſted his ſon Ameid Chan. He wrote in the mean time a letter to the Portugueſe, who were ſettled at Chittagong, making them advantageous offers, ſhould they join his arms, or even remain in a ſtate of neutrality; and threatening them with deſtruction, ſhould they aid the enemy.

Gains over the Portugueſe.

The letter had the intended effect upon the Portugueſe, who began to fear the threatened ſtorm. They immediately entered into a negociation with Haſſen Beg. The Raja of Arracân was appriſed of their intentions, by one of their own party, who betrayed their ſecret. He prepared to take ample vengeance by putting them all to the ſword. The Portugueſe, in this critical ſituation, ran to their boats in the night, and ſet ſail for the iſland of Sindiep, where they were well received by Haſſen. He ordered them, ſoon after, to proceed to Bengal. Shaiſta, upon their arrival, adhered to his former promiſe, and gave them houſes and lands. He engaged many of them in his ſervice; and he took advantage of their experience in naval affairs, by joining them, with their armed veſſels, to the propoſed expedition againſt Arracân.

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Invades Chittagong.

Every thing being prepared for the invaſion, Ameid, with his fleet, conſiſting of about five hundred ſail, and a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, departed from Dacca in the beginning of the fair ſeaſon; and, in the ſpace of ſix days, croſſed the river Phenny, which divides Chittagong from Bengal. The troops of Arracân made a ſhew of oppoſition; but they fled to the capital of the province, which was about fifty miles diſtant. They ſhut themſelves up in the fort. Ameid purſued them without delay. The fleet ſailed along the coaſt, in ſight of the army, between the iſland of Sindiep and the ſhore. When it had reached Comorea, the fleet of Arracân, conſiſting of about three hundred Ghorâbs and armed boats, made its appearance. A ſmart engagement enſued, in which the enemy were repulſed, with a conſiderable loſs of men, and thirty-ſix of their veſſels. Being reinforced the next day, they prepared to renew the fight. Ameid, fearing the defeat of his fleet, ordered it to hawl in cloſe to the ſhore, and, having detached a thouſand muſqueteers, with ſome great guns, from his army, poſted them among the buſhes behind the fleet.

Capital of Chittagong taken, and the province reduced.

The enemy, encouraged by the retreat of the Moguls from the open ſea, purſued them with great eagerneſs, and began the attack within muſquet-ſhot of the land. The Moguls defended themſelves with reſolution. The enemy preſſed on furiouſly, and began to board their boats. The whole fleet would have certainly been deſtroyed, had not the detachment upon the ſhore advanced to the water's edge, keeping up ſuch a fire upon the enemy, with guns and ſmall arms, as obliged them to put off to ſea. Many were, however, diſabled in ſuch a manner as not to eſcape, and they were ſo much diſcouraged, that they fled up the river, and ſecured themſelves behind the fort. Ameid, without delay, laid ſiege to the place. The enemy loſt their

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courage with their ſucceſs. They behaved in a daſtardly manner. The town was very ſtrong, and well ſupplied with artillery, ſtores, and proviſions. They, however, all evacuated it, excepting fifty men, who remained with the governor; and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The fugitives were purſued; and two thouſand being ſurrounded on a neighbouring mountain, were taken and ſold for ſlaves. Ameid found twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon in the place, and a prodigious quantity of ſtores. He named the town Iſlamabad; and annexed the whole province to the kingdom of Bengal.

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. VI.

Origin of the quarrel with Perſia—Conduct of Shaw Abâs—Aurungzêbe endeavours to appeaſe him—He prepares for war—Writes a letter to the viſier—which is intercepted—The emperor ſuſpects the Perſian nobles—A proclamation—A maſſacre threatened—Conſternation at Delhi—The princeſs Jehanâra arrives from Agra to appeaſe the Perſians—The viſier exculpates himſelf—The Perſian nobility received into favour—March of the emperor—Death and character of Shaw Abâs—Peace with Perſia—Revolt of the prince Shaw Allum—He returns to his duty—War with the Afgans—Magnificent reception of the king of Bucharia.

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The origin

THE emperor having, by his addreſs, as well as by his crimes, extricated himſelf from domeſtic hoſtilities, was ſuddenly involved in a foreign war. The Perſians, who with a prepoſterous negligence, had remained quiet during the civil diſſentions in India, ſhewed a diſpoſition to attack Aurungzêbe, after his fortune and conduct had firmly eſtabliſhed him on the throne. But various reaſons had induced Shaw Abâs the Second, who, with no mean abilities, held then the ſcepter of Perſia, to avoid coming to extremities with the houſe of Timur, when all its branches were in arms. The unſucceſsful expeditions againſt the unconquered tribes along the Indian ocean, had drained his treaſury; and Mohâbet, who remained in a ſtate of neutrality in the northern provinces of Hindoſtan, kept an army of veterans in the field. The other paſſions of Abâs were more violent than his ambition. He ſeemed more anxious to preſerve his dignity at home, than to purchaſe fame by his arms abroad; and, had not his pride been wounded by an accident, more than from any deſign, on the ſide of Aurungzêbe, that monarch might have enjoyed in tranquillity an empire which he had acquired by blood.

of the

The death of Dara and the flight of Suja having given ſtability to the power of Aurungzêbe in the eyes of the princes of the north, he had received, in the fourth year of his reign, congratulatory embaſſies from Tartary and Perſia. To return the compliment to Shaw Abâs, Tirbiet Chan, a man of high dignity, was ſent ambaſſador from the court of Delhi to Iſpahan. He was received with the ceremony and reſpect which was due to the repreſentative of ſo great a prince as the emperor of Hindoſtan. His credentials were read, in the hall of audience, in the preſence of the nobility; and the few preſents, which the ſuddenneſs of his departure from his court had permitted him to bring along with him to Abâs, were accepted with condeſcenſion and expreſſions of ſatisfaction. Tirbiet wrote an account of his reception to Delhi; and the emperor ordered magnificent preſents to be prepared, and ſent, under an eſcort, to Perſia.

quarrel

The care of furniſhing the preſents is veſted in an office which bears ſome reſemblance to our chancery, having the power of ingroſſing patents, and of judging of their legality before they paſs the ſeal of the empire. Some preſents had been, at the ſame time, ordered to be prepared for the prince of the Uſbecs, whom it was cuſtomary to addreſs only by the title of Wali, or Maſter of the Weſtern Tartary. The ſame clerk in the office made out

the

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the inventory of the preſents for both the princes; and, at the head of the liſt for Perſia, he called Shaw Abâs, Wali, or Maſter of Iran. The inventory, accompanied by a letter to the emperor, was ſent with the preſents to Tirbiet; and he, without examining either, demanded an audience of Abâs, and placed both in his hands as he ſat upon his throne. Abâs, though otherwiſe an excellent prince, was much addicted to wine. He was intoxicated when he received Tirbiet; and with an impatience to know the particulars of the preſents, he threw firſt his eyes on the inventory. When he read the Wali, or Maſter of Perſia, he ſtarted, in a rage, from his throne, and drew his dagger from his ſide. The nobles ſhrunk back on either ſide, and Tirbiet, who ſtood on the ſteps which led up to the Imperial canopy, retreated from the wrath of Abâs. The emperor, ſtill continuing ſilent, ſat down. Amazement was pictured in every countenance.

with Perſia.

"Approach," ſaid Abâs, "ye noble Perſians; and hear the particulars of the preſents ſent by the EMPEROR OF THE WORLD;" alluding to the name of ALLUMGIRE, which Aurungzêbe had aſſumed, "The EMPEROR OF THE WORLD to the MASTER OF PERSIA!" A general murmur ſpread around; they all turned their eyes upon Tirbiet. That lord began to fear for his life; and Abâs ſaw his conſternation. "Hence, from my preſence," ſaid he, "though I own not the title of Aurungzêbe to the world, I admit his claim to your ſervice. Tell the impious ſon, the inhuman brother, the murderer of his family, that though his crimes have rendered him maſter of Hindoſtan, there is ſtill a lord over Perſia, who deteſts his duplicity and deſpiſes his power. Hence with theſe baubles; let him purchaſe with them the favour of thoſe who are not ſhocked at guilt like his; but Abâs, whoſe hands are clean, ſhudders at the iniquity of a prince covered with the blood of his relations."

Tirbiet

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The emperor endeavours in vain

Tirbiet retired from the preſence, and wrote letters to Aurungzêbe. The emperor of Perſia, in the mean time, ordered every neceſſary preparation for war. The troops ſtationed on the ſkirts of the empire were commanded to aſſemble; new levies were made; and a general ardour for an invaſion of India, ran through all the Perſian dominions. Aurungzêbe, upon receiving the letters of Tirbiet, wrote an immediate anſwer to that lord. He laid the the whole blame on the inadvertence and ignorance of a clerk in office; declaring, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he never meant an affront to the illuſtrious houſe of Sefi. "The title of Allumgire," ſaid he, "is adopted from an ancient cuſtom, prevalent among the poſterity of Timur. It is only calculated to impreſs ſubjects with awe, not to inſult independent princes. The preſents, which I ſent, are the beſt teſtimony of my reſpect for Shaw Abâs; but if that prince is bent on war, I am ready to meet him on my frontiers with an army. Though I love peace with my neighbours; I will not proſtrate my dignity before their ungovernable paſſions."

to appeaſe Shaw Abâs.

Abâs, whoſe choleric diſpoſition was almoſt always inflamed with wine, would not admit Tirbiet into his preſence. He ſent an order to that lord to depart his dominions; and his ambaſſador was to be the meſſenger of the unalterable reſolves of Abâs to Aurungzêbe. That prince, when he had firſt received the letters of Tirbiet, called his ſon Shaw Allum, with twenty thouſand horſe, from the Decan. He ordered him immediately to the frontiers, to watch the motions of Perſia. Abâs, in the mean time, having collected his army, to the number of eighty thouſand, with an immenſe train of artillery, advanced, at their head, into Choraſſan. Shaw Allum was reinforced by all the troops of the northern provinces. He, however, received ſtrict orders from his father, not to riſque the iſſue of a general action; but to haraſs the enemy in his march. He himſelf made preparations to take the field.

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An accident, however, happened, which threw him into great perplexity, and ſtopt his progreſs.

Spies ſeized.

Amir Chan, the Imperial governor of the province of Cabul, having ſeized four Tartars who had been ſent as ſpies by Shaw Abâs, to explore the ſtate of the frontiers of India, ſent them priſoners to Delhi. The emperor delivered them over for examination to Alimâd, one of his principal nobles. Alimâd, having carried the Tartars to his own houſe, began to aſk them queſtions concerning their commiſſion from the king of Perſia. They remained ſilent, and he threatened them with the torture. One of them immediately ſnatched a ſword from the ſide of one of Alimâd's attendants; and, with one blow, laid that lord dead at his feet. Three more, who were in the room, were ſlain. The Tartars arming themſelves with the weapons of the dead, iſſued forth, diſperſed themſelves in the crowd, and, notwithſtanding all the vigilance, activity, and promiſes of Aurungzêbe, they were never heard of more. The emperor, naturally ſuſpicious, began to ſuppoſe that the Perſian nobles in his ſervice had ſecreted the ſpies. He became dark and cautious, placing his emiſſaries round the houſes of thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected.

A letter intercepted,

Advices, in the mean time, arrived at Delhi, that Abâs, having finiſhed his preparations, was in full march, with a well-appointed army, toward India. A letter was intercepted from that prince to Jaffier, the viſier, a Perſian by deſcent. It appeared from the letter, that a conſpiracy was formed by all the Perſian nobility in the ſervice of India, to betray Aurungzêbe into the hands of the enemy, ſhould he take the field. The emperor was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity. His rage, for once, got the better of his prudence. He gave immediate orders to the city-guards, to ſurround all the houſes of the Perſian nobility. He iſſued forth, at the ſame time, a proclamation, that none of them ſhould ſtir abroad upon pain of death. He called the Mogul lords to a council; he ſecured their fidelity, by repreſenting to them the urgency of the danger; and, contrary to his uſual coolneſs and moderation, he ſwore, by the living God, that ſhould he find that there was any truth in the conſpiracy, he would put every one of the Perſian nobility to the ſword.

which occaſions Sept. 9.

The proclamation was ſcarce promulgated, when Tirbiet arrived from Perſia. He preſented himſelf before the emperor; and informed him, that at his departure he had been called before Shaw Abâs. That prince, after venting his rage againſt Aurungzêbe in very diſreſpectful terms, concluded with telling the ambaſſador, That as his maſter might ſoon be in want of ſwift horſes to fly from his reſentment, he had ordered for him three hundred out of the Imperial ſtables, whoſe ſpeed would anſwer the expectations of his fears. "We ſhall ſoon have occaſion to try," added Abâs, "whether this CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD can defend the dominions which he has uſurped in Hindoſtan." Aurungzêbe was enraged beyond meaſure. He commanded that the horſes, as a dreadful denunciation of his wrath, ſhould be killed before the gates of the conſpirators. The troops, at the ſame time, were ordered to ſtand to their arms, in the ſeven military ſtations, and to wait the ſignal of maſſacre, which was to be diſplayed over the gate of the palace.

a general conſternation

A general conſternation ſpread over the whole city. The people retired to their houſes; and the ſtreets were deſerted. A panic ſeized all; they ſaw a dreadful tempeſt gathering; and they knew not where it was to fall. An awful ſilence, as a prelude to the ſtorm, prevailed. The Perſians were numerous and warlike; the emperor implacable and dark. The eyes and

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ears of men were turned to every quarter. The doors were all ſhut. There was a kind of ſilent commotion; a dreadful interval of ſuſpence. Ideal ſounds were taken for the ſignal of death; and the timorous ſeemed to hug themſelves in the viſionary ſecurity of their houſes. The Perſians had, in the mean time, collected their dependents. They ſtood armed in the courts before their reſpective houſes, and were prepared to defend their lives, or to revenge their deaths with their valour.

at Delhi.

Things remained for two days in this awful ſituation. Aurungzêbe himſelf became, for the firſt time, irreſolute. He was alike fearful of granting pardon and of inflicting puniſhment. There was danger on both ſides; and his invention, fertile as it was in expedients, could point out no reſource. He endeavoured, by promiſes and fair pretences, to get the principals into his hands. But they had taken the alarm, and no one would truſt himſelf to the clemency of an enraged deſpot. Upon the firſt intelligence of the conſpiracy, the emperor wrote to his ſiſter Jehanâra, who reſided at Agra, to come with all expedition to Delhi. The Perſian nobles, he knew, had been attached to Shaw Jehân, to whoſe favour they had owed their promotion in the empire; and he hoped that they would liſten to the advice of the favourite daughter of the prince whom they loved. He himſelf remained, in the mean time, ſullen and dark: he ſpoke to none, his whole ſoul being involved in thought.

Advice of the Mogul lords

Taër and Cubâd, two of the moſt powerful, moſt popular, and reſpectable of the Mogul nobles, preſented themſelves, at length, before the emperor. They repreſented to him, that it would be both unjuſt and impolitic to ſacrifice the lives of ſo many great men to bare ſuſpicion; for that no proofs of their guilt had hitherto appeared, but from the hands of an enemy, who might

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have deviſed this method to ſow diviſion and diſſention in a country which he propoſed to invade. That the Perſian nobles had become powerful in the ſtate from their high military commands, their great wealth, the immenſe number of their followers; that the common danger had united them; that the attack upon them would not prove a maſſacre but a civil war. That the Patan nobility, warlike, numerous, diſaffected, ſtill hankering after their ancient domination of which they had been deprived by the folly of their princes, as much as by the valour of the Moguls, would not fail to throw their weight into the ſcale of the Perſians; and, upon the whole, they were of opinion, that peaceable meaſures ſhould be adopted toward domeſtic traitors, at leaſt till the danger of foreign war ſhould be removed.

in favour of the Perſian nobles.

The arguments of the two lords had their due weight with the emperor. He declared himſelf for lenient meaſures; but how to effect a reconciliation, with honour to himſelf, was a matter of difficulty. The princeſs Jehanâra arrived, in the mean time, from Agra. She had travelled from that city to Delhi, on an elephant, in leſs than two days, though the diſtance is two hundred miles. Her brother received her with joy. After a ſhort conference, ſhe preſented herſelf, in her chair, at the door of the viſier's houſe. The gates were immediately thrown open; and ſhe was uſhered into the apartments of the women. The viſit was a mark of ſuch confidence, and ſo great an honour in the eyes of the viſier, that, leaving the princeſs to be entertained by the ladies, he haſtened, without even ſeeing her himſelf, or waiting for her requeſt to the emperor. When he entered the hall of audience, he proſtrated himſelf before the throne. Aurungzêbe deſcended, took him in his arms, and embraced him in the moſt friendly manner. He then put the letter, which was the cauſe of the diſturbance, in the viſier's hand.

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who are reconciled

Jaffier, with a countenance expreſſing that ſerenity which accompanies innocence, ran over the letter, Aurungzêbe marking his features as he read He gave it back, and poſitively denied his ever having given the leaſt reaſon to Shaw Abâs for addreſſing him in that manner. He expatiated on his own ſervices; upon thoſe of his anceſtors, who had reſided in Hindoſtan ever ſince the time of the emperor Humaioon. He repreſented the improbability of his entertaining any deſigns againſt a prince, who had raiſed him to the firſt rank among his ſubjects, and had left him nothing to hope or to wiſh for, but the continuance of his favour and the ſtability of his throne. He concluded with a pertinent queſtion: "What could I expect in Perſia equal to the high office of viſier in Hindoſtan? Let my common ſenſe be an argument of my innocence; and let not the emperor, by an opinion of my guilt, declare to the world that I am deprived of reaſon."

with the emperor.

Aurungzêbe was convinced by the ſpeech of Jaffier; and he wondered from whence had proceeded his own fears. By way of doing him honour, he ordered him to be clothed with a magnificent dreſs; at the ſame time directing him to command all the Perſian nobles to make their immediate appearance in the hall of audience. When they were all aſſembled, the emperor mounted the throne; and, after they had paid the uſual compliments, he addreſſed them in a long ſpeech. He excuſed his proceedings by reading the letter of Abâs; and he reproved them gently for their contumacy in not obeying his orders. He argued, that the power of a monarch ceaſes when his commands are diſputed; and, that the indignity thrown upon him by their diſobedience, touched him more than their ſuppoſed treaſon. "But," continued he, "a prince, though the repreſentative of God, is liable to error and deception. To own that I have been partly in the wrong, carries in itſelf an excuſe for you. Forget my miſtake; and I promiſe to forgive your obſtinacy. Reſt ſatisfied of my favour, as I am determined to rely upon your gratitude and loyalty. My father, and even myſelf, have made you what you are; let not the hands which raiſed you ſo high, repent of the work which they have made."

Inſolence of Amîn Chan.

The ſpeech of the emperor ſeemed to be well received by all the Perſians, excepting Mahommed Amîn, the ſon of the famous Jumla. That lord, haughty and daring in his diſpoſition, was diſſatisfied with the conduct of the viſier, hurt at the ſubmiſſion of his countrymen, and piqued at the emperor's latter words. He looked ſternly upon Aurungzêbe; and ſaid, in a ſcornful manner, "Since you have been pleaſed to pardon us for offences which we did not commit; we can do no leſs than forget the errors which you have made." The emperor, pretending that he did not hear Amîn diſtinctly, ordered him to repeat his words; which he did twice, in a haughty and high tone of voice. The eyes of Aurungzêbe kindled with rage. He ſeized a ſword, which lay by his ſide on the throne. He looked around to ſee, whether any of the nobles prepared to reſent the affront offered to his dignity. They ſtood in ſilent aſtoniſhment. He ſat down; and his fury beginning to abate, he talked to the viſier about the beſt manner of carrying on the Perſian war.

Aurungzêbe takes the field.

The minds of the people being ſettled from the expected diſturbances, Aurungzêbe prepared to take the field. The army had already aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and the Imperial tents were pitched on the road toward the north. He marched in a few days at the head of a great force; but the ſtorm which he feared, diſſipated without falling. When he was within a few miles of Lahore, expreſſes arrived from his ſon, who

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commanded the army of obſervation on the frontiers of Perſia, with intelligence that Shaw Abâs, who had languiſhed for ſome time under a neglected diſeaſe, expired in his camp on the twenty-fifth of September. This accident, of which a more ambitious monarch than Aurungzêbe might have taken advantage, ſerved only to change the reſolutions of that prince from war. He conſidered that nature ſeemed to have deſigned the two countries for ſeparate empires, from the immenſe ridge of mountains which divide them from one another, by an almoſt impaſſable line.

Death and character of Shaw Abâs.

Shaw Abâs was a prince of abilities, and when rouzed, fond of expedition and delighting in war. He was juſt in his deciſions, mild in his temper, and affable in his converſation. Deſtitute of prejudices of every kind, he made no diſtinction of countries, none of ſyſtems of religion. He encouraged men of worth of every nation; they had acceſs to his perſon, he heard and redreſſed their grievances, and rewarded their merit. He was, however, jealous of his prerogative, and he was determined to be obeyed. He could forgive the guilty, upon being convinced of their contrition; but an inſult on his dignity he would never forgive. His paſſions were naturally ſtrong; he broke often forth like a flaſh of lightning; but when he was moſt agitated, a calm was near; and he ſeemed to be aſhamed of the trifles which ruffled his temper. He loved juſtice for its own ſake; and though his exceſſes in wine gave birth ſometimes to folly, they never gave riſe to an act of injuſtice. He was fond of the company of women; and his love of variety produced the diſtemper of which he died.

Peace with Perſia.

Upon the death of Shaw Abâs, his uncle remained in the command of the Perſian army. He ſent a meſſenger to Aurungzêbe, acquainting him of the death of his nephew; and that he left him to chuſe either peace or war. The emperor returned for anſwer,

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That his own empire was ample; and that all he wanted was to defend it from inſult and invaſion. That the diſreſpectful words of Abâs vaniſhed with his life; for, conſcious of his own integrity and power, that he neither feared the abuſe, nor dreaded the arms of any prince. He condoled with the family of Sheick Sefi, for the loſs of a monarch, whoſe moſt exceptionable action was his unprovoked attempt upon India. Aurungzêbe, however, left a powerful army on his frontiers. The Perſians might be induced to derive advantage from the immenſe preparations which they had made; and he reſolved to truſt nothing to their moderation. The prince Shaw Allum was, in the mean time, recalled to Delhi. The emperor, full of circumſpection and caution in all his actions, was reſolved to remove temptation from his ſon. He feared that an army unemployed in a foreign war, might be converted into an inſtrument of ambition at home. Shaw Allum copied his father's moderation and ſelf-denial upon every occaſion, and he, therefore, was not to be truſted.

War in Bijapour.

During the alarm of the Perſian war, the tributary ſovereign of Bijapour began to ſhew a diſreſpect for the Imperial mandates; and though he did not abſolutely rebel, his obedience was full of coldneſs and delay. Dilêre Chan, by orders from the court of Delhi, led an army againſt the refractory tributary. He laid waſte the country, and beſieged the prince in his capital. Adil Shaw was ſoon reduced to extremities for want of proviſions; and he was upon the point of ſurrendering himſelf at diſcretion, when orders arrived from the emperor, in the camp of Dilêre, to break up the ſiege, and to return immediately with the army to Delhi. Theſe unſeaſonable orders proceeded from the jealouſy of Shaw Allum. He knew that Dilêre was in the intereſt of his younger brother; and he was afraid that a conqueſt of ſuch ſplendor would give him too much weight in the empire. He had inſinuated, therefore,

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therefore, to his father, that Dilêre had entered into a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. Aurungzêbe was deceived, and the ſiege was raiſed.

Deſigns of the prince Shaw Allum

Shaw Allum, who had returned to the Decan, reſided in the city of Aurungabâd. To diſappoint Dilêre in his proſpect of fame, was not the only view of the prince. He meditated a revolt, and he was afraid of Dilêre. His father's orders were favourable to his wiſhes. He had received inſtructions from court to ſeize the perſon of the ſuſpected lord, ſhould he ſhew any marks of diſaffection; or to ſubdue him by force of arms, ſhould he appear refractory. Thus far the deſigns of Shaw Allum ſucceeded. Dilêre, apprized of the prince's ſchemes, broke up the ſiege, though with regret, as the place was on the point of ſurrendering. He moved toward Delhi, with a diſappointed army of thirty thouſand Patan horſe, and the like number of infantry.

to rebel;

Dilêre arriving within ſix miles of Aurungabâd, encamped with his army in an extenſive plain. The prince lay under the walls of that city with eighty thouſand men. Dilêre ſent a meſſenger to Shaw Allum, excuſing himſelf for not waiting upon him in perſon that evening; but he promiſed to preſent himſelf in the tent of audience by the dawn of next morning. The prince called a council of his principal officers, who had already ſworn on the Coran to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes. The Maraja, who was never happy but when he was hatching miſchief againſt Aurungzêbe, was preſent. This prince propoſed, that when Dilêre came into the preſence, they ſhould lay open to him their whole deſign againſt the emperor; that in caſe of his appearing refractory, he ſhould inſtantly be diſpatched as a dangerous enemy. Though Shaw Allum did not altogether approve of the Maraja's violence, he conſented that Dilêre ſhould be ſeized; and they broke up their deliberations with that reſolution.

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Pursues Dilêre.

Dilêre, who was no ſtranger to the conſpiracy, ſuſpected the deſign againſt his perſon. He was alſo informed, by his friends in the camp, that the principal officers were ſhut up in council with the prince. He ſtruck his tents in the night, and, marching on ſilently, took a circuit round the other ſide of the city, and when morning appeared, he was heard of above thirty miles from Aurungabâd, on the road to Delhi. The prince, being informed of the flight of Dilêre, was violently tranſported with rage. He marched ſuddenly in purſuit of the fugitive; but he was ſo much retarded by his numbers, which, including the followers of the camp, amounted to two hundred thouſand men, that in a few days, he found that Dilêre had outſtripped him above fifty miles. He ſelected a part of his army, and leaving the heavy baggage behind, continued the purſuit with great vivacity. His officers did not, however, ſecond the warmth of the prince. They were afraid of the veteran troops of Dilêre; and threw every obſtacle in the way which could retard their own march.

Emperor alarmed.

Dilêre, in the mean time, apprized Aurungzebe, by repeated expreſſes of the revolt of his ſon. The Imperial ſtandard was immediately erected without the walls; and the emperor himſelf took the field the very day on which he received the letters. He took the rout of Agra, with great expedition. He arrived in that city in three days; and he immediately detached a force to take poſſeſſion of the important paſs of Narwâr. Orders were, at the ſame time, ſent to Dilêre to march to Ugein, the capital of Malava, and there to join the troops of the province. Reinforced by theſe, he was directed to encamp behind the Nirbidda, which divides the Decan from the reſt of India; and there

to

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to ſtop the progreſs of the prince. Dilêre, with his uſual activity, complied with the orders; and preſented formidable lines, mounted with artillery, at the fords of the river.

Prince drops his deſigns.

The prince, apprized of the ſtrong poſition of Dilêre, and the rapid preparations of Aurungzêbe, returned toward Aurungabâd. He wrote, from that city, letters to his father. He pretended that he had only executed the orders of the emperor, in purſuing Dilêre. Aurungzêbe ſeemed ſatisfied with this excuſe. His ſon was formidable, and he reſolved by degrees to diveſt him of his dangerous power. A rebellion was thus begun and ended without ſhedding blood. The art of the father was conſpicuous in the ſon. They looked upon one another with jealouſy and fear; and it was remarkable, that when both were in the field, and ready to engage, they had carried their politeneſs ſo far as not to utter, on either ſide, a ſingle word of reproach. The emperor himſelf, notwithſtanding his preparations, affected to ſay to his nobles, that he was perfectly convinced of the loyalty of his ſon.

Dilêre rewarded.

The true ſentiments of Aurungzêbe, however, appeared in the diſtinguiſhing honours which he beſtowed on Dilêre. That lord had rendered eminent ſervices to the empire. In his march to the Decan againſt Adil Shaw, he had reduced ſome refractory Rajas in the mountains, who having joined in a confederacy, refuſed to pay their tribute. He deviated from his rout into the country of Bundela, and attacked, in his territory, the Raja of Hoda. The ſpoils of the enemy made ample amends for the tribute which had been with held. Near two millions, in jewels and coin, were remitted by Dilêre to the Imperial treaſury. The tribute of the reduced princes was increaſed; and the ſucceſsful general himſelf became rich at the expence of his foes. Aurungzêbe added honours to his wealth; and, without throwing any reflections on his ſon, he publicly thank'd the man who had ſo gallantly opposed his deſigns.

Rebellion

The general peace which had been eſtabliſhed in the empire by the return of Shaw Allum to his duty, was, in ſome degree, diſturbed by an inſurrection of the wild barbarians of the north. The Afgan tribe of Euſoph Zehi, who poſſeſs the heads of the Attoc and the Nilâb, ruſhed down from their mountains like a torrent, with thirty thouſand men. They ſpread terror and devaſtation over all the plains of Punjâb; having inveſted their chief with the enſigns of royalty under the name of Mahommed Shaw. This prince, in the manifeſtoes which he diſperſed in his march, averred his own deſcent from Alexander the Great, and a daughter of the king of Tranſoxiana. This genealogy was probably fabulous; but the Afgans have high claims on antiquity. A literary people, like the Arabs, and, by their mountains, their poverty, and the peculiar ferocity of their manners, ſecured from conqueſt, they have preſerved among them many records of ancient authority, and undoubted credit.

of the Afgans

Mahommed Shaw's power of doing miſchief was leſs problematical than his high deſcent. The news of his ruinous progreſs was carried to Aurungzêbe. He ordered the governor of the adjoining diſtricts to haraſs the enemy till troops ſhould march to his aid. The name of this officer was Camil. Impatient of the inſults of the enemy, he reſolved to attack them with ten thouſand Geikers, whom he had collected from their hills round his ſtandard. He directed his march toward the ferry of Haran on the Nilâb, with a determined reſolution to give battle to the rebels. The Afgans, equally deſirous of engaging, croſſed the river with ten thouſand of their beſt troops, and advanced impetuouſly againſt Camil, Morâd, who commanded the van of the Imperial militia, fell in, ſword

A. D. 1068. Hig. 1078.

ſword in hand, with the enemy before they had formed. They were thrown into confuſion; but they obſtinately kept their ground, and began to ſurround Moràd. Camil, in the mean time, advanced with the main body. The battle became obſtinate and doubtful. Mahommed behaved with a ſpirit worthy of his new dignity. The reſt of his army haſtened to his relief; but before their arrival he was defeated, and he involved the whole in his own flight. The Nilâb, unfortunately for the fugitives, was four miles in their rear. They were purſued by Camil to the banks. They plunged into the river. More were drowned than fell by the ſword. The reſt were diſſipated; and the inſurrection ſeemed to be entirely quaſhed.

Camil, after this ſignal victory, entered the country of the rebels with his army. The governor of Cabul had, in the mean time, detached five thouſand men, under his lieutenant Shumſhìr, to oppoſe the Afgans. Camil ſat down before their ſtrong holds. They collected an army at the heads of their valleys, and marched down upon the Imperialiſts. Their troops were now more numerous than before, but not leſs unfortunate. They fell in, upon their march, with Shumſhìr, whoſe army had been augmented to fifteen thouſand. The battle was obſtinate; and the Afgans derived their own defeat from their impetuous valour. Strangers to regularity and command, they ruſhed, without any form, into the heart of the enemy, and being ſingly overcome, all at laſt took to flight. They left ſome thouſands dead on the ſpot: the ſurvivors diſſipated themſelves in their mountains.

quaſhed.

The inhabitants of the plain country, who dreaded the incurſions of theſe rude mountaineers, ſent deputations to the emperor to requeſt a force ſufficient to extirpate the rebels. In conſequence of this application, ten thouſand choſen troops were ordered into the

A. D. 1669.
Hig. 1079.

the mountains, under the conduct of Mahommed Amîn, the paymaſter-general of the forces. Camil and Shumſhîr, before his arrival, had joined their forces. They marched up, through the principal valley, and were met by a third army of Afgans. The rebels, averſe to the delays of war, offered battle upon their firſt appearance before the Imperialiſts. The action was bloody. Mahommed Shaw, the pretended deſcendant of Alexander, behaved with a bravery not unworthy of his anceſtor. He led his mountaineers repeatedly to the charge. Fired with the gallant behaviour of their prince, they were not to be driven from the field. The Imperialiſts, having ſuffered much, were upon the point of giving way, when a report that the prince was ſlain induced the common ſoldiers among the rebels to fly. The officers were left in their poſts alone. They formed themſelves in ſquadrons; but they were ſurrounded, and three hundred chiefs came into the hands of the enemy. The flower of the rebel army fell in this action. Amîn, in the mean time arriving, purſued the fugitives through all their almoſt inacceſſible vallies; and levelled every thing with the ground but the rocks, into which a few unfortunate Afgans found a refuge from the ſwords of the victors.

A general peace.

A general peace was now eſtabliſhed over all the empire. Aurungzêbe, to whom buſineſs was amuſement, employed himſelf in making ſalutary regulations for the benefit of his ſubjects. He loved money, becauſe it was the foundation of power; and he encouraged induſtry and commerce, as they encreaſed his revenue. He himſelf, in the mean time, led the life of a hermit, in the midſt of a court, unequalled in its ſplendour. The pomp of ſtate, he found, from experience, was not neceſſary to eſtabliſh the power of a prince of abilities, and he avoided its trouble, as he liked not its vanity. He however encouraged magnificence among his officers at court, and his deputies in the provinces. The ample al-

A. D. 1669.
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lowance granted to them from the revenue, was not, they were made to underſtand, to be hoarded up for their private uſe. "The money is the property of the empire," ſaid Aurungzêbe; "and it muſt be employed in giving weight to thoſe who execute its laws."

Magnificent reception of the king of Bucharia.

An opportunity offered itſelf to his magnificence and generoſity in the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign. Abdalla, king of the Leſſer Bucharia, lineally deſcended from the great Zingis, having abdicated the throne to his ſon Alîris, advanced into Tibet in his way to Mecca. He ſent a meſſage to Aurungzêbe, requeſting a permiſſion for himſelf and his retinue to paſs through India. The emperor ordered the governor of Caſhmire to receive the royal pilgrim with all imaginable pomp, and to ſupply him with every article of luxury and convenience at the public expence. The governors of diſtricts were commanded to attend Abdalla from province to province, with all their followers. The troops, in every place through which he was to paſs, were directed to pay him all military honours; and, in this manner, he advanced to Delhi, and was received by the emperor at the gates of the city. Having remained ſeven months in the capital, he was conducted with the ſame pomp and magnificence to Surât, where he embarked for Arabia.

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. VII.

Obſervations—Education of Eaſtern princes—Genius of Aurungzêbe—His attention to juſtice—Contempt of pomp—Auſterity—Clemency—Knowledge—Public buildings—Encouragement to letters—Charity—Skill in war—Learning—Manly exerciſes—Continence—Acceſſibleneſs—Amuſements—Ceremonies of reception—Creation of nobles—Buſineſs of the morning—noon—and evening—Obſervations.

Obſervations.

THOUGH Hiſtory loſes half her dignity in deſcending to unimportant particulars, when ſhe brings information, ſhe cannot fail, even in her moſt negligent dreſs, to pleaſe. The ſingular good fortune and abilities of Aurungzêbe ſtamp a kind of conſequence on every circumſtance, which contributed to raiſe him to a throne, which his merit deſerved to poſſeſs without a crime. The line of his public conduct, in riſing to the ſummit of ambition, has already been followed with ſome preciſion; but his private life, which prepared him for the greatneſs at which he had now arrived, remains ſtill in the ſhade. To bring forward the objects which have hitherto lain diſtant and dim behind, will heighten the features of the picture, and perhaps recommend it to thoſe who wiſh to ſee the glare of great tranſactions tempered with anecdote.

Unfavourable education

The education of the natives of Aſia is confined; that of young men of diſtinction always private. They are ſhut up in the haram from infancy till their ſeventh or eighth year; or, if they are permitted to come abroad, it is only under the care of eunuchs, a race of men more effeminate than the women whom they guard. Children, therefore, imbibe in early youth little female cunning and diſſimulation, with a tincture of all thoſe inferior paſſions and prejudices which are improper for public life. The indolence natural to the climate, is encouraged by example. They loll whole days on ſilken ſophas; they learn to make noſegays of falſe flowers with taſte, to bathe in roſe-water, to anoint themſelves with perfumes, whilſt the nobler faculties of the ſoul loſe their vigour, through want of cultivation.

of eaſtern princes.

Princes are permitted, at ten years of age, to appear in the hall of audience. A tutor attends them, who impoſes upon them no reſtraint. They receive little benefit from his inſtructions, and they advance frequently into life without having their minds embued with any conſiderable knowledge of letters. They are married to ſome beautiful woman at twelve, and it cannot be ſuppoſed that a boy, in poſſeſſion of ſuch an enchanting play-thing as a young wife, will give much attention to the dry ſtudy of grammar. The abilities of the princes of the houſe of Timur, it muſt be confeſſed, extricated, when they advanced in life, their minds from the effects of this ruinous mode of paſſing youth. The moſt of them were men of letters, and given to inquiry; but their attention to the education of their children, could not altogether ſuperſede the inherent prejudices of their country.

Early genius of Aurungzebe.

Shaw Jehân was extremely anxious in training up his ſons in all the literature and knowledge of the Eaſt. He delivered each of them into the hands of men of virtue as well as of letters; he raiſed the tutors to dignities in the ſtate, to impreſs awe upon their pupils, and to induce them to liſten to their precepts. Aurungzêbe, however, was not fortunate in his maſter. His genius flew before the abilities of the teacher; and the latter, to cover his own ignorance, employed the active mind of the prince in difficult and unprofitable ſtudies. Being naturally remarkably ſerious, he gave up his whole time to application. The common amuſements of children gave him no pleaſure. He was frequently known, whilſt yet he was very young, to retire from the puerile buffoonery of his attendants, to the dry and difficult ſtudy of the Perſian and Arabic languages. His aſſiduity prevailed over the dulneſs of his tutor, and he made a progreſs far beyond his years.

His attention to juſtice;

Time had eſtabliſhed into an almoſt indiſpenſible duty, that the emperor, with his aſſeſſors, the principal judges, was to ſit for two hours every day in the hall of juſtice, to hear and decide cauſes. Shaw Jehân, who took great delight in promoting juſtice, frequently exceeded the uſual time. Aurungzêbe, while yet but twelve years of age, ſtood conſtantly near the throne; and he made remarks, with uncommon ſagacity, upon the merits of the cauſes which were agitated before his father. The emperor ſeemed highly pleaſed at abilities which afterwards ruined his own power. He often aſked the opinion of his ſon, for amuſement, upon points of equity, and he frequently pronounced ſentence in the very terms of Aurungzêbe's deciſion.

contempt of pomp and flattery.

When he was, in his early youth, appointed to the government of a province, he was obliged, by his office, to imitate, though in miniature, the mode of the court. He had his hall of audience, he preſided in his court of juſtice; he repreſented royalty in all its forms, except in its pomp and magnificence, to which the natural auſterity of his manners had rendered him an enemy. He exhihibited, upon every occaſion, an utter averſion to flatterers: he admitted not, into his preſence, men of diſſolute manners. The firſt he thought inſulted his judgment, the latter diſgraced him as the guardian of the morality, as well as of the property, of the people. Muſicians, dancers, and ſingers, he baniſhed from his court, as foes to gravity and virtue. Mimics, actors, and buffoons, he drove from his palace, as an uſeleſs race of men.

Affects plainneſs in dreſs.

His dreſs was always plain and ſimple. He wore, upon feſtival days only, cloth of gold, adorned with jewels. He, however, changed his dreſs twice a-day, being remarkably cleanly in his perſon. When he roſe in the morning, he plunged into the bath, and then retired for a ſhort time to prayers. Religion ſuited the ſerious turn of his mind; and he at laſt became an enthuſiaſt through habit. In his youth he never ſtirred abroad on Friday; and ſhould he happen to be in the field, or on a hunting party, he ſuſpended all buſineſs and diverſions. Zealous for the faith of Mahommed, he rewarded proſelytes with a liberal hand, though he did not chuſe to perſecute thoſe of different perſuaſions in matters of religion.

His auſterity, and love

He carried his auſterity and regard for morality into the throne. He made ſtrict laws againſt vices of every kind. He was ſevere againſt adultery and fornication; and againſt a certain unnatural crime, he iſſued various edicts. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, he was indefatigable, vigilant, and exact. He ſat almoſt every day in judgment, and he choſe men of virtue, as well as remarkable for their knowledge in the law, for his aſſeſſors. When the cauſe appeared intricate, it was left to the examination of the bench of judges, in their common and uſual court. They were to report upon ſuch cauſes as had originated before the throne; and the emperor,

peror, after weighing their reaſons with caution, pronounced judgment, and determined the ſuit.

In the courts of the governors of provinces, and even often on the benches on which his deputies ſat in judgment, he kept ſpies upon their conduct. Though theſe were known to exiſt, their perſons were not known. The princes, his ſons, as well as the other viceroys, were in conſtant terror; nor durſt they exerciſe the leaſt degree of oppreſſion againſt the ſubject, as every thing found its way to the ears of the emperor. They were turned out of their office upon the leaſt well-founded complaint; and when they appeared in the preſence, the nature of their crime was put in writing into their hands. Stript of their eſtates and honours, they were obliged to appear every day at court, as an example to others; and after being puniſhed for ſome time in this manner, according to the degree of their crime, they were reſtored to favour; the moſt guilty were baniſhed for life.

of juſtice.

Capital puniſhments were almoſt totally unknown under Aurungzêbe. The adherents of his brothers, who contended with him for the empire, were freely pardoned when they laid down their arms. When they appeared in his preſence, they were received as new ſubjects, not as inveterate rebels. Naturally mild and moderate through policy, he ſeemed to forget that they had not been always his friends. When he appeared in public, he clothed his features with a complacent benignity, which pleaſed all. Thoſe who had trembled at his name, from the fame of his rigid juſtice, when they ſaw him, found themſelves at eaſe. They could expreſs themſelves, in his preſence, with the greateſt freedom and compoſure. His affability gave to them confidence; and he ſecured to himſelf their eſteem by the ſtrict impartiality of his deciſions.

His clemency;

Knowledge of affairs.

His long experience in buſineſs, together with the acuteneſs and retentiveneſs of his mind, rendered him maſter even of the detail of the affairs of the empire. He remembered the rents, he was thoroughly acquainted with the uſages of every particular diſtrict. He was wont to write down in his pocket-book, every thing that occurred to him through the day. He formed a ſyſtematical knowledge of every thing concerning the revenue, from his notes, to which, upon every neceſſary occaſion, he recurred. The governors of the provinces, and even the collectors in the diſtricts, when he examined either, on the ſtate of ther reſpective departments, were afraid of miſrepreſentation or ignorance. The firſt ruined them for ever; the latter turned them out of their offices.

Public buildings.

His public buildings partook of the temper of his own mind. They were rather uſeful than ſplendid. At every ſtage, from Cabul to Aurungabâd, from Guzerat to Bengal, through the city of Agra, he built houſes for the accommodation of travellers. Theſe were maintained at the public expence. They were ſupplied with wood, with utenſils of cookery, with a certain portion of rice and other proviſions. The houſes which his predeceſſors had erected on by-roads, were repaired; bridges were built on the ſmall rivers; and boats furniſhed for paſſing the large.

Encouragement to letters.

In all the principal cities of India, the emperor founded univerſities; in every inferior town he erected ſchools. Maſters, paid from the treaſury, were appointed for the inſtruction of youth. Men of known abilities, honour, and learning, were appointed to examine into the progreſs which the learners made, and to prevent indolence and inattention in the maſters. Many houſes for the reception of the poor and maimed were erected; which were endowed with a revenue from the crown. The emperor, in the mean time, collected all the books which could be found on every ſubject; and, after ordering many copies of each to be made, public libraries were formed, for the convenience of learned men, who had acceſs to them at pleaſure. He wrote often to the learned in every corner of his dominions, with his own hand. He called them to court; and placed them, according to their abilities, in offices in the ſtate; thoſe, who were verſed in the commentaries on the Coran, were raiſed to the dignity of judges, in the different courts of juſtice.

Skill and courage in war.

Aurungzêbe was as experienced in war, as he was in the arts of peace. Though his perſonal courage was almoſt unparalleled, he always endeavoured to conquer more by ſtratagem than by force. To ſucceed by art threw honour upon himſelf; to ſubdue by power acquired to others fame. Such was his coolneſs in action, that, at the riſing and ſetting ſun, the times appointed for prayer, he never neglected to attend to that duty, though in the midſt of battle. Devout to exceſs, he never engaged in action without prayer; and for every victory, he ordered a day of thankſgiving, and one of feſtivity and joy.

Learning.

In the art of writing, Aurungzêbe excelled in an eminent degree. He wrote many letters with his own hand; he corrected always the diction of his ſecretaries. He never permitted a letter of buſineſs to be diſpatched, without critically examining it himſelf. He was verſed in the Perſian and Arabic; he wrote the language of his anceſtors the Moguls, and all the various dialects of India. In his diction he was conciſe and nervous; and he reduced all diſpatches to a brevity and preciſion, which prevented all miſconſtruction and perplexity.

Skill in the manly exercise.

Though not remarkable for his ſtrength of body, he was extremely active in the exerciſes of the field. He was an excellent archer, he threw the lance with grace; and he was ſo good a horſeman, that few men durſt follow him in the chace. He underſtood the uſe of fire-arms ſo well, that he ſhot deer on full ſpeed from his horſe. When he wandered over the country in purſuit of game, he did not forget the concerns of the ſtate. He examined the nature of the ſoil, he enquired even of common labourers concerning its produce. He underſtood, and, therefore, encouraged agriculture. He iſſued an edict, that the rents ſhould not be raiſed on thoſe who, by their induſtry, had improved their farms. He mentioned, in the edict, that ſuch practice was at once unjuſt and impolitic; that it checked the ſpirit of improvement, and impoveriſhed the ſtate: "And what joy," ſaid he, "can Aurungzêbe have in poſſeſſing wealth in the midſt of public diſtreſs?"

Chaſtity.

Though he entertained many women, according to the cuſtom of his country, it was only for ſtate. He contented himſelf with his lawful wives, and theſe only in ſucceſſion; when one either died or became old. He ſpent very little time in the apartments of his women. He roſe every morning at the dawn of day, and went into the bathing-chamber; which communicated with a private chapel, to which he retired for half an hour, to prayers. Returning into his apartments from chapel, he ſpent half an hour in reading ſome book of devotion; and then went into the haram to dreſs. He entered the chamber of juſtice generally about ſeven o'clock; and there ſat with the judges, read petitions, and decided cauſes till nine. Juſtice was diſpenſed in a ſummary manner; and rewards and puniſhments were immediate; the diſputes, which were not clear, having been already weighed by the judges in their own court.

Acceſſibleneſs to all.

The people in general had acceſs into the chamber of juſtice; and there they had an opportunity of laying their grievances and diſtreſſes before their ſovereign. Aurungzêbe ordered always a ſum of money to be placed by his ſide on the bench; and he relieved the neceſſitous with his own hand. Large ſums were in this manner expended every day; and, as the court was open to all, the unfortunate found, invariably, a reſource in the Imperial bounty.

Amuſements.

The emperor retired at nine to breakfaſt; and continued for an hour with his family. He then came forth into a balcony, which faced the great ſquare. He ſat there to review his elephants, which paſſed before him in gorgeous capariſons. He ſometimes amuſed himſelf with the battles of tygers and leopards, ſometimes with thoſe of gazzelles, elks, and a variety of ferocious animals. On particular days, ſquadrons of horſe paſſed in review. The fine horſes of his own ſtables were alſo brought, at times, before him, with all their magnificent trappings, mounted by his grooms, who exhibited various feats of horſemanſhip. The balcony in which he ſat was called THE PLACE OF PRIVACY, as it looked from the haram, and the ladies ſaw every thing from behind their ſcreens of gauze.

His mode of receiving

An hour being ſpent at this amuſement, the emperor, generally about eleven o'clock, made his appearance in the great hall of audience. There all the nobles were ranged before the throne, in two lines, according to their dignity. Ambaſſadors, viceroys, commanders of armies, Indian princes, and officers, who had returned from various ſervices, were introduced in the following form: The Meer Hajîb, or the lord in waiting, uſhers each into the preſence. At the diſtance of twenty yards from the throne, the perſon to be preſented is commanded by one of the mace-bearers to bow three times very low; raiſing his hand each time from the ground to his forehead. The mace-bearer, at each bow, calls out aloud, that ſuch a perſon ſalutes the EMPEROR OF THE WORLD. He is then led up, between the two lines of the nobles, to the foot of the ſteps which aſcend to the throne; and there the ſame ceremony is again performed. He then moves ſlowly up along the ſteps, and, if he is a man of high quality, or much in favour, he is permitted to make his offering to the emperor himſelf, who touches one of the gold roupees; and it being laid down, the lord of the privy-purſe receives the whole. The emperor ſometimes ſpeaks to the perſon introduced: when he does not, the perſon retires, keeping his face toward the ſovereign, and performs the ſame ceremonies at the ſame places as before.

and creating the nobles.

The introduction of an officer, when he is raiſed into the rank of Omrahs, is the ſame with that already deſcribed. When he retires from the ſteps of the throne, the emperor gives his commands aloud to clothe him with a rich dreſs, ordering a ſum of money, not exceeding a lack of roupees, to be laid before him. He is, at the ſame time, preſented with two elephants, one male and one female, capariſoned, two horſes with rich furniture, a travelling bed elegantly decorated, a complete dreſs, if once worn by his Imperial majeſty the more honourable, a ſword ſtudded with diamonds, a jewel for the front of his turban. The enſigns of his rank are alſo laid before him; fifes, drums, colours, ſilver maces, ſilver bludgeons, ſpears, the tails of peacocks, ſilver fiſh, ſilver dragons, with his titles engraved, with a parchment containing his patent of dignity, and the Imperial grant of an eſtate.

The buſineſs of the morning,

The hall of audience in the city of Delhi, was called Chelſittoon, or Hall of Forty Pillars, as the name imports. In the ſquare which opened to the hall, the cavaliers, or ſoldiers of fortune, who wanted to be employed in the Imperial ſervice, preſented themſelves completely armed on horeback, with their troop of dependents. The emperor ſometimes reviewed them; and, after they had exhibited their feats of military dexterity before him, they were received into pay. The Manſebdârs, or the lower rank of nobility, preſented themſelves in another ſquare; artizans, with their moſt curious inventions, occupied a third, and they were encouraged according to the utility and elegance of their work. The huntſmen filled a fourth court. They preſented their game, conſiſting of every ſpecies of animals and beaſts common in the empire.

Aurungzêbe, about one o'clock, retired into the Guſſel Châna, or bathing-chamber, into which the great officers of ſtate were only admitted. There affairs of inferior concern, ſuch as the diſpoſal of offices, were tranſacted. At half paſt two o'clock, he retired into the haram to dine. He ſpent an hour at table, and then, in the hot ſeaſon, ſlumbered on a ſopha for half an hour. He generally appeared at four, in the balcony above the great gate of the palace. A mob of all kinds of people aſſembled there before him; ſome to claim his bounty, others to prefer complaints againſt the officers of the crown. He retired at ſix, into the chapel to prayers; and, in half an hour, he entered the Guſſel Châna, into which, at that hour, the members of the cabinet were only admitted. He there took their advice upon all the important and ſecret affairs of government; and from thence orders were iſſued to the various departments of the ſtate. He was often detained till it was very late in this council, as converſation was mixed with buſineſs; but about nine, he generally retired into the haram. noon, and evening.

Such is the manner in which Aurungzêbe commonly paſſed his time; but he was not always regular. He appeared not Obſervation.

ſome days in the chamber of juſtice; and other days there was no public audience. When the particular buſineſs of any department required extraordinary attention, that of others was from neceſſity poſtponed. Particular days were ſet apart for auditing the accounts of the officers of the revenue, ſome for reviewing the troops; and ſome were dedicated to feſtivity. Though Aurungzêbe bore all the marks of an enthuſiaſt in his private behaviour, he did not ſtop the progreſs of buſineſs by many days of thankſgiving; for he often declared, that, without uſing the means, it were preſumptuous to hope for any benefit from prayer.

APPENDIX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE nature of a government is beſt underſtood from the power which it communicates to its officers. The Author of the preceding Hiſtory has thought proper to ſubjoin to his Work the forms of commiſſions granted by the emperor to his ſervants in the provinces. They will ſerve to juſtify his obſervations on the policy of the Imperial houſe of Timur, who were too jealous of their own authority to commit their power, without reſervation, to the hands of their deputies. The Deſpot derived the ſtability of his throne from the opinion which the people formed of his paternal care of their happineſs and proſperity. Wanton oppreſſion is an act of folly, not of true deſpotiſm, which leaves to mankind a few rights, which render them worthy of being commanded.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Tenor of a NABOB'S FIRMAN.

THE mandate of the emperor, the ſhadow of God, from the ſource of his bounty and favour, iſſues forth like the world enlightening ſun; conferring upon the moſt reſpected of nobles, the pillar of the empire, the ſtrength of fortune, the pattern of true greatneſs, Mubariz-ul-dien Chan Bahadur the high office of Lord of the Subadary, commander and governor of the province of Allahabâd, giving into his hands the full power of contracting, diſſolving, appointing and diſmiſſing, as he ſhall think proper and neceſſary in that province. But notwithſtanding we have many proofs of his juſtice, humanity, experience and valour, he muſt conform to the ſcope and meaning of the following directions, nor permit the minuteſt article of them to paſs unobſerved.

He muſt watch over the ſafety and happineſs of that country, taking particular care that the weak ſhall not be oppreſſed by the ſtrong, nor in any manner diſpoſſeſſed of thoſe tenements which have been long occupied by themſelves and their progenitors.

He ſhall make the uſages of the country, and the rights of the ſubject his ſtudy, and ſhall be accountable for the revenues to commiſſaries of the royal exchequer, after a deduction of the neceſſary expences of the province, and what ſhall be received by the agents of Jagueerdars.

He ſhall puniſh ſuch as refuſe to pay the uſual duties and ſtipulated rents, as an example to others; and he ſhall, from time to time, and repeatedly, tranſmit an account of all his tranſactions to the preſence.

Be it known unto all Mutaſeddys, Crorries, Jagueerdars, Zimindars, Caningoes, Choudries, Mukuddums and Ryots; that this moſt reſpected of nobles is created Lord of the Subadary, that they may not on any account diſpute his juſt commands, and that they ſhall ſubject themſelves to his authority. And ſhould any Jagueerdar, Zimindar, or others, refuſe to comply with his juſt orders or demands, he ſhall diſpoſſeſs them of their lands, and ſend a particular account of their behaviour to court, that we may judge of the ſame, and, if thought proper, ſend others from the preſence to ſupply their places. In this proceed according to order, nor deviate from it.

NUMBER II.

A DEWAN'S Commiſſion.

AS it is ſome time ſince the particular accounts of the collections and diſburſements of the province of Multân, have been tranſmitted to the Imperial preſence, we have reaſon to ſuſpect that it is owing to the negligence of the preſent Dewan. On that account, we have thought proper to appoint the moſt œconomical and exact of our ſervants, the experienced in buſineſs Chaja Abdul Aſtâr to the office of Dewan, from the commencement of the enſuing term. He is therefore commanded to proceed in that buſineſs, according to the eſtabliſhed rules and cuſtoms; to inſpect the collections of the Malajât and Sairjât of the royal lands, and to look after the Jagieerdars, and in general all that belongs to the royal revenues, the amount of which he is to ſend to the public treaſury, after the groſs expences of the province are diſcharged according to the uſual eſtabliſhment; the particular account of which, he is at the ſame time to forward to the preſence, as well as the accounts of the former Dewan. He is commanded to treat the Riots with mildneſs and humanity, that they may employ themſelves without diſturbance in their buildings, cultivation, and other occupations; that the province may flouriſh and increaſe in wealth from year to year, under our happy government. Let all officers of the revenues, Crories, Canongoes, and Jagieerdars of the above-mentioned province, acknowledge the aforeſaid as Dewan by our royal appointment, and they are commanded to be accountable to him for all that appertains to the Dewanny, and to conceal nothing from him; to ſubject themſelves to his juſt commands, in every thing that is agreeable to the laws, and tending to the proſperity and happineſs of our realms. In this proceed according to the tenor, nor deviate from it.

NUMBER III.

Tenor of a JAGIEER.

THE illuſtrious mandate, neceſſary to be obeyed, iſſues forth commanding, That the ſum of thirty lacks of Dâms, ariſing from different lands in the Pergunna of Chizer-abâd, poſſeſſed by the flower of nobility Mirza Feridon Beg, is from the commencement of the firſt harveſt of the preſent year, confirmed and ſettled in Jagieer upon the moſt favoured of ſervants attending the royal preſence, Muckirrib Chan Bahadur. Let all Chowdries, Canongoes and tenants who have any concern with, or who occupy the above-mentioned lands acknowledge him as Jagurdâr, and pay unto him or his agents, the uſual rents belonging to the Dewanny without delay or refuſal; and let the balances that may be due at that term be diſcharged to the former incumbent. In this matter let there be no obſtruction, and let it proceed according to the order.

NUMBER IV.

A FIRMAN granting lands to a ZIMINDAR.

ON this auſpicious day, the Firmân that communicates joy and happineſs is iſſued forth. We have of our royal grace and favour conferred upon the learned, devout and experienced Shech Sadi and his children, the extent of two thouſand bigahs of arable land, in the Pergunna of Byram-poor, in the Sircar of Kinnoge, for his benefit and ſubſiſtence, free of collection, to commence from the beginning of the autumnal ſeaſon of the current year; that he may appropriate the produce of that eſtate to his own uſe, and exigences from ſeaſon to ſeaſon, and from year to year, and continue to pray for the happineſs and permanence of our reign. Let the lords and public officers of that country, aſſign the above-mentioned quantity of land, in a good ſoil, well meaſured, and properly terminated, nor afterwards upon any account whatever, make any encroachments upon him; nor charge him with rents, cuſtoms, entrance money, yearly preſent, meaſurement, &c charges and impoſts of the Dewanny, nor for the dues of the empire. For it is our pleaſure that he ſhall enjoy our bounty free and unmoleſted, nor be troubled from time to time for confirmations of this Firmân. Proceed according to the order, nor depart from it.

NUMBER V.

The Tenor of a CAZI's FIRMAN.

The Order that iſſues forth like Fate.

AS in the number of our auſpicious deſigns, it is proper that the people of God ſhould be conducted from the dark and narrow paths of error into the direct road of truth and reaſon, which intention can only be accompliſhed, when an upright and devout judge veſted with his powers, ſhall be eſtabliſhed in every city and country, to unfold the doors of virtue and juſtice, before the faces of wicked and deſigning men.

The laudable qualifications being found in the diſpoſition of the learned in the laws, the extenſive in knowledge, Eas-ul-dien-Mahommed; we have, on that account, favoured him with the high and reſpectable office of Cazi of the city of Cabul, commanding him—To give the neceſſary application to that duty—To obſerve the eſtabliſhed courſe of the noble law in his enquiries—To paſs judgment in all diſputes, and arbitrations according to the ſame noble law, nor permit the ſmalleſt differences in the caſe to paſs unobſerved—To regulate his proceedings in ſuch a clear and diſtinct manner, as if to-morrow were the day of examination on which every action muſt anſwer for itſelf.

Be it known to all rulers, and officers, and people, public and private, that the aforeſaid learned in the law, is confirmed Cazi of the above-mentioned city of Cabul; that they ſhall pay him all due reſpect, and revere his deciſions totally and particularly, paying all due obedience to his orders, by ſuch officers as he ſhall appoint for executing the laws: receiving ſuch of his words as are agreeable to the noble law into the ears of their underſtanding. In this buſineſs proceed according to order, and let none oppoſe it.

NUMBER VI.

Tenor of a CUTWAL's FIRMAN.

AS a particular account of the capacity, experience and bravery of Mahommed Bakar, hath reached our high and ſacred preſence, We have of our royal favour confirmed and appointed him Cutwâl of the city of Dowlatabâd. He is commanded to make the practice of fidelity and truth his ſtudy, that he may be enabled to execute the duties of his office with propriety. He is to take care that the guards and watches of that city be ſtrictly kept, that the inhabitants may be ſecured and protected in their perſons and property, that they may bleſs our happy reign, and pray for its duration.

He is to uſe his utmoſt endeavours that no thieves, gamblers, or other miſcreants ſhall make their appearance, and that no nuiſances ſhall be permitted to remain in the ſtreets, or before the door of any perſon. That no inſidious old women, pimps or jugglers, who lead the wives and daughters of honeſt men into the ways of evil be tolerated, but have their hands ſhortened from ſuch iniquitous practices. That he will as much as poſſible prevent foreſtalling of grain, proviſions, and other things, that the markets may be kept low, nor the people ſuffer from any combinations amongſt the Bunias. What events may ariſe of a particular nature, he is to ſend a true and faithful account of them to the preſence.

Be it known unto all Mutaſiddies, and officers, and all men public and private of the above-mentioned city, that the aforeſaid Mahommed Bakar, is confirmed and appointed Cutwâl, and that all quarrels and vexatious diſputes which may ariſe in that city, ſhall be referred to his deciſion, and that they ſhall ſubmit to his arbitration according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of the empire. Let this buſineſs be proceeded on according to order, and let none oppoſe it.

NUMBER VII.

Commiſſion or Perwanna for a CARKUN or CHIEF of a Diſtrict.

TO all Chowdries, Canongoes, Muckuddums and others of the Pergunna of Noor-poor be it known, That we have appointed the choſen in office, the ſervant of the faithful, Kinwir Râm to the office of Cârkun of the above-mentioned Pergunna. They are therefore to acknowledge him as ſuch, and to make him acquainted with every general and particular tranſaction in ſettling or collecting of which, he is to keep an exact and faithful daily regiſter, which muſt be atteſted by the Shackdar, Chowdries and Canongoes of the Pergunna, and tranſmitted regularly every quarter to the royal exchequer. He is to take care that the ancient uſages and cuſtoms of the Pergunna ſhall not be violated, nor any new impoſts or other innovations be permitted, and to examine the books of the above-mentioned Shackdars, Chowdries and Canongoes from time to time, that they are regulary kept. He is to receive his own pay ſrom the Fotadâr of the Pergunna. He is to demean himſelf with moderation, juſtice and integrity, that he may be beloved and reſpected. In this buſineſs proceed according to order, without variation.

NUMBER VIII.

Commiſſion or Purwanna for a CRORIE.

TO all Chowdries, Canongoes, Muckuddums and Riôts of the Pergunna of Rehimabâd be it known. Since by the mandate that ſubjects the world, and is refulgent as the ſun, the office of Crorie of the ſaid Pergunna is conferred upon Chaja Mahommed Mauzum, from the commencement of next term, they are commanded to acknowledge him as ſuch, and to be accountable to him for the uſual rents and eſtabliſhed rights of the Dewanny from term to term, and from year to year, without ſcruple or refuſal, nor in any manner oppoſe his authority in the juſt execution of his duty in all that reſpects the royal revenues; nor conceal any thing general or particular from him, that properly ought to come under his cognizance.

The above-mentioned is ordered to ſtudy œconomy in his department, and to apply with diligence to his duty, without permitting the minuteſt tranſaction in that diſtrict to paſs unobſerved. To behave with juſtice and humanity to the Riôts, that they may have no cauſe of complaint, but be encouraged to apply themſelves diligently to their various occupations, and that the annual collections may increaſe yearly, as well as the happineſs of the inhabitants. He is from time to time to lodge his collections in the provincial treaſury. In this proceed according to the tenor, without deviation.

NUMBER IX.

Commiſſion of a FOTADAR or TREASURER of a Diſtrict.

TO our honoured and faithful Mirza Abrahîm Crorie of the Pergunna of Mahommed-abâd be it known: That as the office of Fotadâr of the above-mentioned Pergunna hath become vacant, We have been pleaſed to appoint our truſty and diligent ſervant Jaffier Beg to that office. You are therefore commanded to give into his cuſtody all the rents and cuſtoms of the Dewanny in that diſtrict, and he ſhall lodge it with care in his treaſury; and you are to take his receipts, which you are to ſend monthly to the royal exchequer, nor are you permitted to keep one Dâm of the revenues in your own hands after the ſtated periods, and you muſt beware of treating any of his agents ill, which he may ſend to demand the collections. And ſhould there be any deficiencies in his accounts, you are to be anſwerable for the ſame. Know this to be confirmed, nor deviate from the order.

GLOSSARY TO THE APPENDIX.

Canongoes.	Literally, ſpeakers of the law: Regiſters of a diſtrict.
Carkun.	The chief officer of a diſtrict, who lett the lands, audited the accounts, and preſerved the ancient uſages.
Cazi.	A judge.
Chowdrie.	The conſtable of a ſmall diſtrict.
Cutwal.	A mayor of a town.
Crorie.	The collector of the revenues of a diſtrict.
Dâm.	An imaginary coin, the fortieth part of a rupee.
Dewan.	The receiver-general of the revenues of a province.
Dewanny.	The imperial revenues of the Dewan's department.
Firmân.	A royal commiſſion or mandate.
Fotadâr.	The treaſurer of a diſtrict.
Jagieer.	An eſtate generally granted during pleaſure; as alſo the imperial grant itſelf.
Jagieerdâr.	The poſſeſſor of the crown rents of a certain tract of land.
Malajât.	The land rent.
Muckudum.	The principal clerk of a ſmall department, or the chief of a village.
Mutaſiddy.	A clerk of the cheque, or any writer employed about the revenues.
Nabob, or *Nawâb.*	The King's lieutenant or viceroy of a province, properly Naib; but changed to the plural number by the natives, who addreſs all great men in that manner.
Pergunna.	A diſtrict.
Perwanna.	A commiſſion of an inferior nature to a Firmân.
Riots.	Tenants, huſbandmen.
Sairjât.	All kinds of taxation, beſides the land rent.
Sircâr.	A diſtrict, ſometimes comprehending ſeveral pergunnas; as alſo the principal man of any buſineſs.
Shechdar, or *Shackdar.*	A kind of juſtice of the peace, or the moſt venerable man in a town or diſtrict of the Mahommedan faith.
Zemindar.	A poſſeſſor or farmer of lands.
Zemindary.	The country farmed by a Zemindar, which was ſometimes of a great extent, and formed into a kind of county, having its own courts and particular juriſdictions.

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END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.